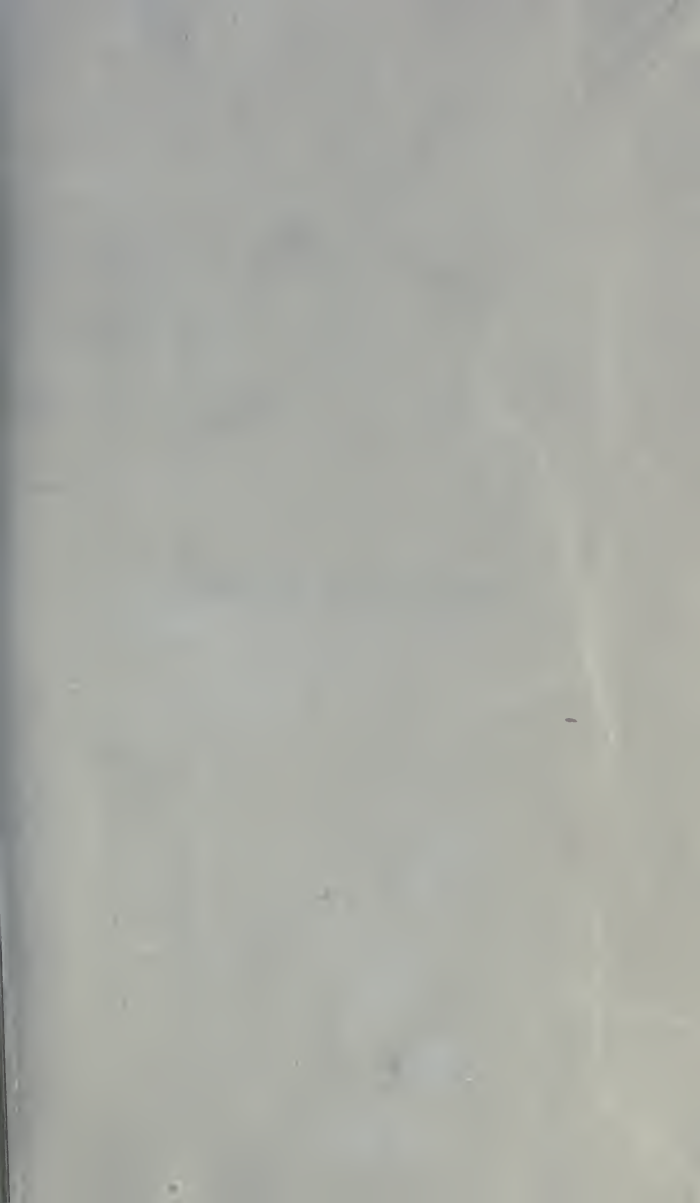


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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IRISH HISTORY.

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THE
STUDENT'S MANUAL
OF
IRISH HISTORY.

BY
M. F. CUSACK,

AUTHOR OF
'THE ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF IRELAND,' ETC.

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PREFACE.

IN OFFERING a 'Student's History of Ireland' to the public, it seems necessary to call attention to the neglect with which Irish history has hitherto been treated, and to the probable cause of that neglect. Englishmen generally were unwilling to press a study on their children which could afford little else than matter of constant regret and explanation. In Ireland, it is said by a recent lecturer, that indifference or dislike to a painful subject has caused a similar avoidance of this department of history. It is true that the past cannot be effaced, but past evils may be remedied by present care; and it is always, under all circumstances, a matter of imperative necessity that we should know the history of the past, whatever that history may have been.

Ignorance is generally the source of misapprehension; and to remove misapprehension is, or should be, one of the chief objects of instruction. Now, however, these objections to the study of Irish history are removed by recent legislation. The English student, if he feels that the policy of the past has been generally worse than a mistake, can look with pride on the policy of the present. He can point also to the

legislation by which the chief grievance of the Irish Celt will soon be remedied, since he will no longer be compelled to seek a remuneration for his labour in a foreign land which he has failed to find in his own country.

Irish history also will convey a lesson of immense importance to those who, if they are not our future statesmen, will at least influence the decisions of future Parliaments. They will learn the fatal consequences of early misgovernment, and will see that the contempt the Norman settler manifested towards the Irish Celt, because he differed from him in dress, customs, and laws, was the source of much subsequent ill-feeling, and was as unjust as it was impolitic. He will see that to prevent insurrection by remedial measures is incomparably wiser than to repress it by the sword; and even if such lessons were not of the first importance, to be ignorant of any portion of our national history, or to possess only a superficial knowledge of it, is an injustice to our compatriots and a discredit to ourselves.

To Irishmen also the history of their country provides lessons of no less importance; and they at least should require no inducement to make it one of the earliest historical studies of their children.

KENMARE: *April* 30, 1870.

CONTENTS.

FIRST PERIOD.—PRE-CHRISTIAN AGE.

CHAPTER I.

TRADITIONARY PERIOD.

B.C. 2520 TO B.C. 1015.

SECT.	PAGE
I. Of the Materials for the Ancient History of Ireland	3
II. Traditionary History	5
III. The Origin of the Irish Celts	6
IV. The Five Invasions or Takings of Ireland	9

CHAPTER II.

THE PAGAN MILESIAK KINGS OF IRELAND.

B.C. 1015 TO A.D. 428.

I. The Pagan Milesian Kings	21
II. The Reign of Queen Macha	22
III. Conor MacNessa and Queen Méav	25
IV. The Revolt of the Attacotti	28
V. The Origin of the Boromean Tribute	30
VI. Conn of the Hundred Battles.—Conairé II.—The Three Cairbrés and Cormac MacAirt	32
VII. Finn MacCoole. Nial of the Nine Hostages, and Dathi	35

CHAPTER III.

THE RELIGION, LANGUAGE, LAWS, ARCHITECTURE, DOMESTIC CUSTOMS, FOOD, DRESS, OCCUPATIONS, AND MUSIC OF THE PAGAN IRISH.

FROM THE EARLIEST TRADITIONS TO A.D. 428.

I. The Religion of the Pagan Irish	38
--	----

SECT.	PAGE
II. The Language and Literature of the Pagan Irish . . .	41
III. The Laws and Customs of the Pagan Irish . . .	44
IV. Architecture, Domestic Habitations, Weapons, and Dress of the Pagan Celt	44
V. The Fauna and Flora of Ireland	48

SECOND, OR IRISH PENTARCHY PERIOD.

CHAPTER IV.

THE IRISH PENTARCHY.

A.D. 428 TO A.D. 458.

I. The reign of King Laeghairé and the Mission of Palladius . . .	53
II. The Irish Pentarchy	56

CHAPTER V.

THE MISSION OF ST. PATRICK, AND THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO IRELAND.

St. Patrick's Missionary Labours	60
--	----

CHAPTER VI.

MILESIAK CHRISTIAN KINGS OF THE PENTARCHY PERIOD.— IRISH SAINTS AND MISSIONARIES.

A.D. 503 TO A.D. 778.

I. The Milesian Christian Kings who ruled before the Danish Invasion	70
II. The Saints and Missionaries of the Fifth and Sixth Cen- turies	78

CHAPTER VII.

THE RELIGION, LAWS, ARCHITECTURE, DRESS, AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE FIFTH, SIXTH, AND SEVENTH CEN- TURIES.

I. Ecclesiastical Regulations and Enactments	88
II. The Brehon Laws	91
III. Ecclesiastical, Military, and Domestic Architecture . . .	96
IV. Weapons, Dress, Food, Money	97
V. Arts, Sciences, and Social Life	99

THIRD, OR DANISH PERIOD.

CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 795 TO A.D. 954.

SECT.	PAGE
I. The First Raid of the Danish Pirates	107
II. Arrival of the Duv-gaill, or Black Gentiles	111
III. The Reign of Cormac MacCullinan	114
IV. The Circuit of Ireland by Murtagh	117

CHAPTER IX.

CULMINATION OF THE DANISH POWER TERMINATING WITH
THE BATTLE OF CLONTARF.

A.D. 954 TO A.D. 1014.

I. Mahoun and Brian Boru	119
II. The remote and immediate causes of the Battle of Clontarf	125
III. The Battle of Clontarf	131

CHAPTER X.

EVENTS PRECEDING THE NORMAN INVASION.

A.D. 1014 TO A.D. 1168.

I. The last years of the Reign of Malachy	137
II. Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster	144

CHAPTER XI.

RELIGION, LAWS, ARCHITECTURE, DRESS, AND SOCIAL
CUSTOMS OF THE EIGHTH, NINTH, TENTH, AND
ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

I. Ecclesiastical Affairs	146
II. Laws.—The Ceremony of Inauguration	151
III. Domestic, Military, and Religious Architecture	152
IV. Coinage, Trade, and Social Customs	152

FOURTH, OR NORMAN PERIOD.

CHAPTER XII.

A.D. 1168 TO A.D. 1176.

SECT.	PAGE
I. Dermot MacMurrough asks the assistance of Henry II. to recover his petty kingdom, from which he was expelled .	157
II. The Arrival of Strongbow	160
III. Arrival of Henry II. in Ireland.	167
IV. How Ireland was governed by the Norman Nobles , . .	173

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FIRST CENTURY AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF THE NORMANS
IN IRELAND.

A.D. 1176 TO A.D. 1271.

I. Viceroyalty of FitzAldelm de Burgo.—The title of King of Ireland conferred by Henry II. on his youngest son John	179
II. Visit of Prince John to Ireland.	184
III. Prince John confirmed by Richard I. as Lord of Ireland.—Viceroyalty of De Lacy and others	186
IV. Disputes between the English settlers in Ireland.—Visit of King John	190
V. Regulations made in the Reign of Henry III. for the office of Viceroy or Justiciary of Ireland	195

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BURKES AND THE GERALDINES.—BRUCE INVADES
IRELAND.—THE STATUTE OF KILKENNY AND ITS
EFFECTS.

A.D. 1271 TO A.D. 1367.

I. The Burkes and the Geraldines	208
II. The Burkes and Geraldines	211
III. Feuds between the Norman Nobles, the native Irish, and the Lord Justices	214
IV. Bruce's Campaign in Ireland.—The Irish wish to make him King	219
V. The Butler family becomes powerful; their feuds with the De Burgos and Geraldines	224

CHAPTER XV.

THE STATUTE OF KILKENNY.—VISIT OF RICHARD II. TO
IRELAND.—WARS OF THE ROSES.

A.D. 1367 TO A.D. 1509.

SECT.	PAGE
I. Enactment of the Statute of Kilkenny	229
II. Richard II. visits Ireland	231
III. The Earl of Kildare and the Earl of Desmond	241
IV. Enactment of Poyning's Law.—Origin of the word 'Pale.'	244

CHAPTER XVI.

THE RELIGION, LAWS, ARCHITECTURE, DRESS, AND
SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE NORMAN PERIOD.

I. Ecclesiastical Affairs	248
II. English Law introduced into Ireland, but only for the Benefit of the English Colonists	252
III. Ecclesiastical, Military, and Domestic Architecture	254
IV. Dress and Social Customs	256

*FIFTH PERIOD.—IRELAND UNDER THE TUDORS
AND STUARTS.*

CHAPTER XVII.

FAILURE OF THE ATTEMPT TO INTRODUCE THE REFORMA-
TION INTO IRELAND.

A.D. 1513 TO A.D. 1561.

I. Gerald, Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy of Ireland	261
II. Failure of the Attempt made to introduce the Reformation into Ireland	266
III. Scheme to Extirpate the Irish; persecution of the Catholics	268
IV. The Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary	271

CHAPTER XVIII.

REVOLTS OF THE IRISH CHIEFTAINS DURING THE REIGN
OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

A.D. 1561 TO A.D. 1599.

SECT.	PAGE
I. Shane O'Neill	279
II. The Viceroyalty of Sir Henry Sidney	283
III. The Plantation of Ulster.—Essex and Sidney alternately govern Ireland	285
IV. The English Lords of the Pale oppose the English Go- vernment	290
V. Hugh Roe O'Donnell's Capture and Escape	296

CHAPTER XIX.

A.D. 1599 TO A.D. 1642.

I. Viceroyalty of Essex.—Siege of Dunboy.—Flight of the Earls	301
II. The Plantation of Ulster	307

CHAPTER XX.

THE CONFEDERATION OF KILKENNY.—THE BANISHMENT
TO CONNAUGHT.

A.D. 1642 TO A.D. 1689.

I. The Confederation of Kilkenny	314
II. Cromwell's Campaigns in Ireland	321
III. The Banishment to Connaught	325
IV. Reign of Charles II.—Accession of James II.	332

CHAPTER XXI.

RELIGION, LAWS, CUSTOMS, CIVILISATION, AND SOCIAL
STATE OF IRELAND IN THE FIFTEENTH, SIXTEENTH,
AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

I. Religion	338
II. Laws.—The Brehon Laws still in force	343
III. Architecture, Military and Domestic	343
IV. Trade and Commerce	344
V. Social Life.—Domestic Habits and Customs.—Dress	347

CHAPTER XXII.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE IN IRELAND.

A.D. 1689 TO A.D. 1757.

SECT.	PAGE
I. Landing of King James at Kinsale	350
II. The Battle of the Boyne	355
III. The Siege of Limerick	359
IV. The Treaty of Limerick	367
V. Petitions against the Violations of the Treaty.—Swift's Letters	374

CHAPTER XXIII.

A.D. 1757 TO A.D. 1798.

I. Formation of the Catholic Association.—The Whiteboys, or Levellers	379
II. Grattan's demand for Irish Independence	387
III. Origin of the United Irishmen	395
IV. The Rebellion of 1798	402

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE LEGISLATIVE UNION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND
IRELAND 409

A.D. 1798 TO A.D. 1800.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES	421
INDEX	429

FIRST PERIOD—PRE-CHRISTIAN AGE.

FIRST TABLE OF EVENTS.

FROM THE EARLIEST TRADITIONS TO A.D. 428.



PRINCIPAL EVENTS.

TRADITIONS OF EARLY COLONISATION—LANDING OF PARTHOLAN—THE FIVE INVASIONS OR TAKINGS OF IRELAND—THE MILESIAK KINGS—QUEEN MACHA—QUEEN MÉAV—THE ORIGIN OF THE BOROMEAN TRIBUTE—DEATH OF KING DATHI, A.D. 428.

CHAPTER I.

TRADITIONARY PERIOD.

B.C. 2520 TO B.C. 1015.

SYNCHRONOUS EVENTS: Astronomical Observations commenced at Babylon—The Pelasgi people Greece—Hieroglyphics invented by Altides—Reign of the Shepherd Kings in Egypt—Reign of Ninus in Assyria, and Conquest of Babylon.

SECTION I.

Of the Materials for the Ancient History of Ireland.

IT was generally supposed, until the commencement of the present century, that there were no authentic materials for the ancient, or pre-Christian, history of Ireland. The researches of modern Celtic scholars have disproved this opinion. The material is abundant, and only requires a careful hand to separate the grains of truth from the mass of legend or myth in which it has been imbedded. The first and most important duty for the student of history is to ascertain the degree of reliance which he may safely place on the facts recorded by the historian. His attention, therefore, should be carefully directed to the authority for those facts. The authority for the facts recorded in ancient Irish history may be found partly in manuscripts still preserved and well authenticated, and partly in the ancient and still current oral traditions of the whole race.

The former class of material is contained in records written in the Celtic tongue. Many of these manuscripts can be understood only by those who have devoted their attention to this special branch of philology; and there are some manuscripts which could not now be deciphered

without the assistance of the *glosses* appended to them by the writers who copied from documents the language of which had become almost obsolete, even in their time. We have evidence that Ireland has a pre-Christian history of interest and importance not only in these Annals, but in the old tradition which prides itself on the antiquity of the Celtic race, while unconscious of any real authority for such opinion. Further, we have the same twofold evidence of the truth of certain statements concerning the social and political state of ancient Ireland, in the peculiar carefulness to record genealogies, and in the knowledge of most distant cousinships common even to the lowest classes of Irish Celts, who could give no satisfactory reason for this national peculiarity. The ancient manuscript records of Irish history show the cause. The rights of property and the governing power were transmitted with patriarchal exactitude on strictly examined claims of primogeniture. Thus pedigrees and genealogies became a family necessity, and what the pre-Christian Celt did from a laudable motive is still done by the Christian Celt from a traditionary impulse.

The written materials for pre-Christian Irish history may be divided into two classes,—the manuscripts still in existence, many of which are compiled from much older sources; and, secondly, the extracts in these manuscripts from the lost books, some of which were older and some coeval with those still preserved. As a full list of these works is given in the Appendix, it will only be necessary here to call the attention of the student to a few of the more important. Some of these manuscripts are at present in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; the remainder are in the library of the Royal Irish Academy and in continental libraries. The principal historical documents now in existence are: the ‘Annals of Tighernach’ [Teernah], abbot of the monasteries of Clonmacnois and Roscommon, who died A.D. 1088; he compiled his annals, with great care and much erudition, from the manuscripts in his monastery, which had been transmitted for several previous centuries. The ‘Annals of Inis Fah-len,’ compiled in the monastery of Insfallen, which was founded in the sixth century; these

annals are continued down to the year 1215. The 'Annals of Boyle,' compiled at the monastery of Boyle; a number of writers contributed to this compilation. The 'Annals of Shanat Mac Manus,' commonly called the 'Annals of Ulster,' compiled in the year 1498, and continued down to the year 1604; these annals commence A.D. 431. The comparatively modern 'Annals of the Four Masters' are published in seven quarto volumes, and are compiled from ancient manuscripts, many of which are not now in existence. The 'Chronicum Scotorum' is also comparatively modern; it was compiled by Duaid Mac Firbis A.D. 1650; but Mac Firbis also used manuscripts of great antiquity which cannot now be discovered.

The most important of the lost books are, the 'Saltair of Tara,' referred to by an Irish writer of the tenth century; this work is supposed to have been compiled by Cormac Mac Art, A.D. 266. The 'Kin Droma Snechta,' quoted by Keating the historian, as being also called the 'Book of the Invasions of Erin,' and supposed by the great Celtic scholar O'Curry to have been compiled before A.D. 500. The great law book, 'Senchus Môr,' still exists, and has been lately printed with a translation; it will be fully described under the Section referring to the laws of ancient Erin; this book was compiled in the fifth century.

SECTION II. *Traditionary History.*

A period comprising many centuries precedes the five great invasions of Ireland, the accounts of which, though purely traditionary, are, nevertheless, so generally and uniformly recorded in all the Bardic annals of ancient Erin as to render it necessary that they should be mentioned here. According to the Bardic traditions, Erin was peopled before the flood by Kesar, the granddaughter of Noah. But this statement is generally qualified with the addition that it is an improbable tale. The 'Annals of the Four Masters,' and other most respectable authorities, record this legend. The supposed site of Kesar's tomb is also mentioned. The next traditional invasion is that of Partholan; he is said to have landed at Inver Scene, in the Kenmare river, with

a thousand followers; and it is averred that he came from Greece. The Four Masters enter his arrival A.M. 2520; they also say that he was accompanied by his three sons and their wives. The 'Annals of Clonmacnoise' synchronise the account of Partholan with the twenty-first year of the patriarch Abraham, and the twelfth year of the reign of Semiramis, Empress of Assyria.

According to the 'Annals,' Partholan's people employed themselves actively in clearing plains and cutting down the tall pine forests with which Ireland was then covered. Partholan died A.M. 2550, at a place called the old plain of the flocks of Edar. His son Slaingé died before him, and his cairn is still shown on the summit of Slieve Drewe, where it forms a conspicuous object. It is, undoubtedly, a memorial to some ancient hero, though the individual to whose honour tradition has assigned it may never have existed. The mountain also bore the traditional name of the old-world chieftain for many centuries, until the erection of a monastery by St. Domangart, when it obtained the name of Slieve Donard, which it still bears.

It is said that Partholan's colony was destroyed by plague A.M. 2820, after they had been three hundred years in Ireland. According to the legendary accounts, nine thousand persons died of this epidemic in one week. The plague-destroyed race were buried in a common grave at a place now called Tallaght, near Dublin. The name Tallaght signifies a place where a number of persons who had died of plague were buried together. Some very ancient tumuli are still to be seen there, which with the name has been taken in evidence of the tradition, by some writers.

SECTION III. *The Origin of the Irish Celts.*

The Irish annalists agree in claiming a descent from the Scythians for the Irish Celts, and say that they are descended from Magog, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah. Josephus says that Magog led out a colony which from him were named Magoges, but by the Greeks Scythians. Keating, the Irish historian of the sixteenth century, writing from ancient records, indicates the precise tribe of Scythians

from which they claim descent. He says it is from a tribe who had established themselves in remote ages on the borders of the Red Sea at the town of Chiroth. Rabbi Simons, writing B.C. 200, says that ‘certain Caananites near the Red Sea gave provisions to the Israelites; and because those Canaan kings gave Israel of their provisions, God would not destroy their ships, but with an east wind carried them down the Red Sea.’ This colony settled in what was subsequently called Phœnicia; and here again confirmation is claimed for Celtic traditions *ab extrâ*, for Herodotus says: ‘The Phœnicians anciently dwelt, as they allege, on the borders of the *Red Sea*.’

It is not known at what time this ancient nation obtained the specific appellation of Phœnician. The word is not found in Hebrew copies of the Scriptures, but is used in the Maccabees, the original of which is Greek, and in the New Testament. According to the Greek myth the name is referred to Phoenix, son of Agênor and Telephassa, and brother of Europa and Cadmus, to whom is assigned the invention of letters. It may be noted that the Annals mention a king named Phenius, who composed an alphabet and the elements of grammar. The Bardic historians describe the wanderings of the Phœnicians, whom they still designate Scythians, much as they are described by other writers. The account of their route may differ in detail, but the main incidents coincide. Nennius, an English chronicler, who wrote in the seventh century, from the oral testimony of Irish Celts, says, ‘If any one would be anxious to learn how long Ireland was uninhabited and deserted, he shall hear it, as the most learned of the Scots have related it to me.¹ When the children of Israel came to the Red Sea, the Egyptians pursued them and were drowned, as the Scripture records. In the time of Moses there was a Scythian noble who had been banished from his kingdom, and dwelt in Egypt with a large family. He was there when the Egyptians were drowned, but he did not join in the

¹ ‘Sic mihi peritissimi Scotorum nunciaverunt.’ The Irish were called Scots, although the appellative of Ierins or Ierne continued to be given to the country down to the time of Claudius. By Roman writers Ireland was more usually termed Hibernia. Juvenal calls it Juverna.

persecution of the Lord's people. Those who survived laid plans to banish him, lest he should assume the government, because their brethren were drowned in the Red Sea; so he was expelled. He wandered through Africa for forty-two years, and passed by the lake of Salinæ to the altars of the Philistines, and between Rusicada and the mountains Azure, and he came by the river Mulon, and by sea to the Pillars of Hercules, and through the Tuscan Sea, and he made for Spain, and dwelt there many years, and he increased and multiplied, and his people were multiplied.'

Herodotus gives an account of the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians, which may have some connection with this narrative. His only reason for rejecting the tradition, which he relates at length, is that he could not conceive how these navigators could have seen the sun in a position contrary to that in which it is seen in Europe. The expression of his doubt is a strong confirmation of the truth of his narrative, which, however, is generally believed by modern writers.¹

This navigation is said to have been performed about seven centuries before the Christian era, and may by some be taken as a proof not only that the maritime power of the Phœnicians was established at an early period, but that it was not impossible for them to have extended their enterprises to Ireland. The accounts of Celtic annalists may also be compared with the statement of Solinus: 'In the gulf of Boatica there is an island, distant some hundred paces from the mainland, which the Tyrians, who came from the Red Sea, called Erythræa, and the Carthaginians, in their language, denominate Gadir, *i.e.* the enclosure.'

Spanish historians add their testimony, and claim the Phœnicians as their principal colonisers. The '*Hispania Illustrata*,' a rare and valuable work, on which no less than sixty writers were engaged, fixes the date of the colonisation of Spain by the Phœnicians at 764 A.C. De Bellegarde

¹ The circumnavigation of Africa by a Phœnician ship, in the reign of Neco, about 610 B.C., is credited by Humboldt, Rennell, Heeren, Grote, and Rawlinson, but entirely discredited by Sir Cornwall Lewis. — *Astronomy of the Ancients*, ch. viii. § 8. Sir C. Lewis also rejects the tales of Phœnician voyages to Cornwall for tin and to the Baltic for amber.

says: 'The first of whom mention is made in history is Hercules, the Phœnician, by some called Melchart.' It is alleged that he lived in the time of Moses, and that he retired into Spain when the Israelites entered the land of promise. This may agree with old accounts, if faith can be placed in the inscription of two columns, which were found in the province of Tingitane, at the time of the historian Procopius. A Portuguese historian, Emanuel de Faria y Sousa, mentions the sailing of Gatelus from Egypt, with his whole family, and names his two sons, Iberus and Himerus, the first of whom, he says, 'some will have to have sailed into Ireland, and given the name Hibernia to it.'

There can be little doubt that the Celtic race migrated in successive waves from the high table-lands of Asia, from whence the Aryan families came gradually westward. The only subject for conjecture is the means by which each tribe reached its final destination in the little wooded island in the western sea.

SECTION IV. *The Five Invasions or Takings of Ireland.*

The first traditional invasion, or, as the annalists call it, 'taking' of Ireland was that of the (1) *Neimhidhians*; the second that of the (2) *Fomorians*; the third that of the (3) *Firbolgs*; the fourth that of the (4) *Tuatha Dé Dananns*; the fifth that of the (5) *Milesians*.

The *Neimhidhians* landed in Ireland A.M. 2859, according to the 'Annals of the Four Masters.' They occupied themselves in clearing plains and erecting forts, but the precise years of these occurrences 'are not found.' Nemed died of plague, with three thousand of his people. The *Fomorians*, according to the 'Annals of Clonmacnoise,' 'were a sept descended from Cham, sonne of Noeh; and lived by pyracie and spoile of other nations, and were in those days very troublesome to the whole world.' They were certainly very 'troublesome' to the *Neimhidhians*, with whom they had a fierce battle, which resulted in the flight or destruction of the former.

After this engagement some of the *Neimhidhians* fled into the interior of the island. Three bands were said to have emigrated with their respective captains. One party

wandered into the north of Europe, and are believed to have been the progenitors of the Tuatha Dé Dananns; others made their way to Greece, where they were enslaved, and obtained the name of Firbolgs, or bagmen. They are said to have been so called as being employed to erect the hanging gardens of Pindus on Hæmus, each man being obliged to wear a leathern bag, in which he carried up the soil necessary for the work. The third section sought refuge in the north of England, which is said to have obtained its name of Britain from their leader, Briotan Maol.

According to O'Flaherty, the Fomorians were vikings from Denmark, Norway, and Finland. Some of the old annalists think that they were African vikings. Their great stronghold was called Tir-Conainn, or Conang's Tower. It was built on the present Torig island, on the north-west coast of Donegal. It was here the great battle was fought in which they defeated the Neimhidhians. The latter were at first victorious, but the Fomorians obtained succour by sea, which enabled them to conquer. Their name in Irish implies that they were sea robbers; and their memory is still preserved in the Celtic name of the Giant's Causeway, which is *Cloghan-na-Fomharaigh*, or the stepping-stone of the Fomorians. Neimhidh and his race remained in Ireland for two hundred and sixteen years; and after this Ireland was a wilderness for two hundred years.

The Bardic Annals place the arrival of the Firbolgs under the year 3266. They had multiplied rapidly in Greece, where they were enslaved, and determined to free themselves from their masters. The Firbolgs have been called Belgæ by some modern authorities, and identified with the people of Belgic Gaul and the Belgæ and Dumnonii of North Britain. It is at least certain, that some monuments still existing are ascribed to them by a uniform tradition, both written and oral. The western isles of Arun contain the great stone fortresses of Dun Conor and Dun Cengus, built by their chieftains. They were a dark-haired and dark-skinned race, small in comparison with their conquerors, though apparently all descendants of a common ancestor.

The Firbolg dynasty—if, indeed, it deserves so dignified an appellation—is said to have lasted only for half a century; but during this period they divided Ireland into five provinces, governed by five brothers, the sons of Dela Mac Loich:—‘Slane, the eldest brother, had the province of Leynster for his part, which containeth from Inver Colpe, that is to say, where the river Boyne entereth into the sea, now called in Irish Drogheda, to the meeting of the three waters, by Waterford, where the three rivers, Suyre, Ffeoir, and Barrow, do meet and together run into the sea. Gann, the second brother’s part, was South Munster, which is a province extending from that place to Bealagh-Conglaissey. Seangann, the third brother’s part, was from Bealagh-Conglaissey to Rossedahaileagh, now called Limbriche, which is in the province of North Munster. Geaun, the fourth brother, had the province of Connacht, containing from Limerick to Easroe. Rorye, the fifth brother and youngest, from Easroe aforesaid to Inver Colpe, which is in the province of Ulster.’

The fourth or (4) Tuatha Dé Danann ‘taking’ of Ireland is recorded under the year 3303, in the reign of Eochaidh, son of Ere. According to the Annals, the Tuatha Dé Dananns came from Greece through Scandinavia, following the course of the rivers which flow into the Baltic.

The Firbolgian dynasty was terminated at the battle of *Magh Tuireadh*. Eochaidh fled from the battle, and was killed on the strand near Ballysadare, co. Sligo. The cave where he was interred is still shown, and there is a curious tradition that the tide can never cover it. The Tuatha Dé Danann king, Nuada, lost his hand in this battle, and obtained the name of Nuada of the Silver Hand, his artificer, Credne Cert, having made a silver hand for him with joints. The latter acquisition would seem to have been the work of Mioch, the son of Diancecht, Nuada’s physician, as there is a tradition that he ‘took off the hand and infused feeling and motion into every joint and finger of it, as if it were a natural hand.’¹

¹ The same story is told of Indra Savitar.—Max Müller, *Lectures on Language*, 2nd series, viii.

It should be observed here, that the Brehon Laws were probably then in force, for the 'blemish' of the monarch appears to have deprived him of his dignity, at least until the silver hand could make amends for the defective limb. The Four Masters tell us briefly that the Tuatha Dé Dananns gave the sovereignty to Breas, son of Ealathan, 'while the hand of Nuada was under cure,' and mention that Breas resigned the kingdom to him in the seventh year after the cure of his hand.

A detailed account of this affair may be found in one of the ancient historic tales, of the class called *Catha* or *Battles*, which Professor O'Curry pronounces to be 'almost the earliest event upon the record of which we may place sure reliance.' It would appear that there were two battles between the Firbolgs and Tuatha Dé Dananns, and that, in the last of these, Nuada was slain. According to this ancient tract, when the Firbolg king heard of the arrival of the invaders, he sent a warrior named Sreng to reconnoitre their camp. The Tuatha Dé Dananns were as skilled in war as in magic; they had sentinels carefully posted, and their *videttes* were as much on the alert as a Wellington or a Napier could desire. The champion Breas was sent forward to meet the stranger. As they approached, each raised his shield, and cautiously surveyed his opponent from above the protecting ægis. Breas was the first to speak. The mother-tongue was as dear then as now, and Sreng was charmed to hear himself addressed in his own language, which, equally dear to the exiled Nemedian chiefs, had been preserved by them in their long wanderings through northern Europe. An examination of each other's armour next took place. Sreng was armed with 'two heavy, thick, pointless, but sharply rounded spears;' while Breas carried 'two beautifully shaped, thin, slender, long, sharp-pointed spears.' Perhaps the one bore a spear of the same class of heavy flint weapons, and the other the lighter and more graceful sword, of which many specimens may be seen in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. Breas then proposed that they should divide the island between the two parties; and after exchanging spears and promises of mutual friendship, each returned to his own camp.

The Firbolg king, however, objected to this arrangement; and it was decided, in a council of war, to give battle to the invaders. The Tuatha Dé Dananns were prepared for this from the account which Breas gave of the Firbolg warriors; they therefore abandoned their camp, and took up a strong position on Mount Belgadan, at the west end of *Magh Nia*, a site near the present village of Cong, co. Mayo.

The Firbolgs marched from Tara to meet them; but Nuada, anxious for pacific arrangements, opened new negotiations with King Eochaidh through the medium of his bards. The battle which has been mentioned before then followed. The warrior Breas, who ruled during the disability of Nuada, was by no means popular. He was not hospitable, a *sine quâ non* for king or chief from the earliest ages of Celtic being; he did not love the bards, for the same race ever cherished and honoured learning, and he attempted to enslave the nobles. Discontent came to a climax when the bard Cairbré, son of the poetess Etan, visited the royal court, and was sent to a dark chamber, without fire or bed, and, for all royal fare, served with three small cakes of bread.

The poet left the court next morning, but not until he pronounced a bitter and withering satire on the king—the first satire that had ever been pronounced in Erin. It was enough. Strange effects are attributed to the satire of a poet in those olden times; but probably they could, in all cases, bear the simple and obvious interpretation, that he on whom the satire was pronounced was thereby disgraced eternally before his people. For how slight a punishment would bodily suffering or deformity be, in comparison to the mental suffering of which a quick-souled people are eminently capable!

Breas was called on to resign. He did so with the worst possible grace, as might be expected from such a character. His father, Elatha, was a Fomorian sea-king or pirate, and he repaired to his court. His reception was not such as he had expected; he therefore went to Balor of the Evil Eye, a Fomorian chief. The two warriors collected a vast army and navy, and formed a bridge of ships and boats from the Hebrides to the north-west coast of Erin. Having landed

their forces, they marched to a plain in the barony of Tirerrill in Sligo, where they waited an attack or surrender of the Tuatha Dé Danann army. But the magical skill, or more correctly, the superior abilities of this people, proved them more than equal to the occasion. The chronicler gives a quaint and most interesting account of the Tuatha Dé Danann arrangements. Probably the Crimean campaign, despite our nineteenth century advancements in the art of war, was not prepared for more carefully, or carried out more efficiently.

Nuada called what would now be termed a privy council, and obtained the advice of the great Daghdá; of Lug, the son of Cian, son of Diancecht, the famous physician; and of Ogma Grian-Aineach (of the sun-like face). But Daghdá and Lug were evidently secretaries of state for the home and war departments, and arranged these intricate affairs with perhaps more honour to their master, and more credit to the nation, than many a modern and 'civilised' statesman. They summoned to their presence the heads of each department necessary for carrying on the war. Each department was therefore carefully pre-organised, in such a manner as to make success almost certain, and to obtain every possible succour and help from those engaged in the combat, or those who had suffered from it. The 'smiths' were prepared to make and to mend the swords, the surgeons to heal or staunch the wounds, the bards and druids to praise or blame; and each knew his work, and what was expected from the department which he headed before the battle, for the questions put to each, and their replies, are on record.

A full account of this battle and of the preparations for it is given in a tract at present in the British Museum. It was copied by Gilla-Riabhach O'Clery, A.D. 1460, from an ancient manuscript. As an evidence of the antiquity of the original, it may be remarked that it is quoted by Cormac Mac Cullinan in his glossary. Cormac was King of Munster in the year 885, and his glossary was compiled to explain words which had even then become obsolete.

The plain on which this battle is said to have been fought retains the name of the Plain of the Towers (or Pillars) of

the Fomorians, and some very curious sepulchral monuments may still be seen on the ancient field.

In those days as in the middle ages, ladies exercised their skill in the healing art; and we find honourable mention made of the Lady Ochtriuil, who assisted the chief physician (her father) and his sons in healing the wounds of the Tuatha Dé Danann heroes.

Daghda received a wound in this engagement (the battle of Moyturé), from the effects of which he died, although from his long reign his decease might seem more likely to be a decay of nature. The erection of the famous tomb on the banks of the Boyne, known as the mound of New Grange, is attributed to him.

Daghda Môr, *i.e.* the Great Goor Fire, is said to have reigned for seventy years. His proper appellation is Eochaidh Ollathar, but he is more frequently mentioned by his sobriquet. His grandsons were called Mac Coll, Mac Keat, and Mac Grené, because they worshipped the hazel tree (Coll), the ploughshare (Keáct), and the sun (Grian). Their wives were called Banba, Fola, and Eri; and Ireland was called at different times each of these names by the bardic historians.

It is said that Daghdá and his sons were buried at Brugh-na-Boinne, a place on the river Boyne, near Stacbrallen Bridge, where the mound called Sidh-na-Brogha was raised over them as a monument. The name is still familiar to the old inhabitants of Meath. In many parts of Ireland traditions of the Tuatha Dé Dananns and their magical doings are related; and the reputation of their more than ordinary skill in science and such knowledge as the age could boast, has been transmitted with unfailing accuracy.

The fair of Tailltean, now Teltown, in the county Meath, was established by Hugh, a Tuatha Dé Danann monarch, in remembrance of his foster-mother, Taillte, the daughter of Maghmor, King of Spain, and wife of Eochy, son of Erc, the last king of the Firbolgs.

It appears, from a very curious and ancient tract, written in the shape of a dialogue between St. Patrick and Caoilte MacRonain, that there were many places in Ireland where the Tuatha Dé Dananns were then supposed to live as

sprites and fairies, with corporeal and material forms, but endued with immortality. From this it may be inferred that the Tuatha Dé Dananns lingered in the country for many centuries after their subjugation by the Gaedhils, and that they lived in retired situations, where they practised abstruse arts, from which they obtained the reputation of being magicians.

The Tuatha Dé Dananns are also said to have brought the famous Lia Fail, or Stone of Destiny, to Ireland. It is said by some authorities that this stone was carried to Scotland when an Irish colony invaded North Britain, and that it was eventually brought to England by Edward I., in the year 1300, and deposited in Westminster Abbey. It is supposed to be identical with the large block of stone which may be seen there under the coronation chair. Dr. Petrie, however, controverts this statement, and believes it to be the present pillar stone over the Croppies' Grave in one of the raths of Tara.

A Danann prince, called Oghma, is said to have invented the occult form of writing called the Ogham Craove, which, like the round towers, has proved so fertile a source of doubt and discussion to antiquaries.

The fifth and last traditional taking of Ireland was that of the (5) Milesians. This people, like each of the preceding colonists, claims to be descended from Japhet through Magog. But they arrived in Ireland by a different route from that taken by their predecessors, and are said to have journeyed by way of Scythia, Egypt, and Spain. In the latter country they founded the city of Brigantium, near the present Corunna, under the leadership of Breogain. A famine obliged them to seek a new home, and Ith, the son of Breogain, having obtained, by conjecture or information, some idea of the existence of the western isle, set out on a voyage of discovery. On his arrival in Ireland he found it possible to converse with the inhabitants in the common Celtic tongue. He professed to have landed merely from stress of weather, but offered himself, and was accepted, as umpire by Daghdá's three grandsons, who were quarrelling among themselves. Having settled the dispute, he made preparations for his return; but the Tuatha Dé Danann

princes became alarmed, and followed him to the shores of Lough Foyle, where he was mortally wounded while bravely covering the retreat of his followers to their ship. They contrived to escape and to carry his corpse to Spain, where his kinsmen, the sons of Milidh, the grandson of Breogain, determined to avenge his death.

But the Annals give records of Milesian pedigree which, however improbable, may not be wholly unnoticed. According to these accounts, Fenias Farsaidh came out of Scythia to Nimrod; and, some time after the building of the Tower of Babel, Niul, the son of Fenias, travelled into Egypt, where Pharaoh gave him his daughter Scotá in marriage. Niul had a son named Gaedhuil, and from him the Irish are called *Gaedhil* [Gael] or Gaedelians; from his mother, Scoti, or Scots, and from his father Feni, or Fenians. The bards then say that when Pharaoh pursued the Israelites the children of Niul refused to assist him, and subsequently escaped by the Red Sea in the deserted ships of the pursuers. They eventually reached Scythia, and from thence emigrated, after the lapse of many generations, to Spain, where they built the city of Brigantium. An eminent Irish antiquary, Sir W. Wylde, has identified the town of Breogan with the Pharos of Corunna.

The Four Masters thus relate the fifth, or Milesian, taking of Ireland:—‘The age of the world 3500. The fleet of the sons of Milidh came to Ireland at the end of this year, to take it from the Tuatha Dé Dananns, and they fought the battle of Sliabh Mis with them on the third day after landing. In this battle fell Scotá, the daughter of Pharaoh, wife of Milidh; and the grave of Scotá is [to be seen] between Sliabh Mis and the sea. Therein also fell Fas, the wife of Un, son of Uige, from whom is [named] Gleann Faisi. After this the sons of Milidh fought a battle at Taillten against the three kings of the Tuatha Dé Dananns, MacCuill, MacCeacht, and MacGriéné. The battle lasted for a long time, until MacCeacht fell by Eiremhon, MacCuill by Eimheúr, and MacGriéné by Amhergin.’

The grave of Scotá is still shown in the valley of *Gleann-Scoithin*, in the county Kerry, and is marked on the

Ordnance map. Slieve Mish is the name of a mountain in the same survey.

The Milesians, however, did not obtain a landing without some difficulty. According to the bardic accounts, they landed at the mouth of the river Sláingé, or Slaney, in the present county of Wexford, unperceived by the Tuatha Dé Dananns. From thence they marched to Tara, the seat of government, and summoned the three kings to surrender. A curious legend is told of this summons and its results. The Tuatha Dé Danann princes complained that they had been taken by surprise, and proposed to the invaders to reembark, and to go out upon the sea 'the distance of nine waves,' stating that the country should be surrendered to them if they could then effect a landing by force. The Milesian chiefs assented; but when the original inhabitants found them fairly launched at sea, they raised a tempest by magical incantations, which entirely dispersed the fleet. One part of it was driven along the east coast of Erin, to the north, under the command of Eremon, the youngest of the Milesian brothers; the remainder, under the command of Donn, the elder brother, was driven to the south-west of the island.

But the Milesians had druids also. As soon as they suspected the agency which had caused the storm, they sent a man to the topmast of the ship to know 'if the wind was blowing at that height over the surface of the sea.' The man reported that it was not. The druids then commenced practising counter arts of magic, in which they soon succeeded, but not until five of the eight brothers were lost. Four, including Donn, were drowned in the wild Atlantic, off the coast of Kerry. Colpa met his fate at the mouth of the river Boyne, called from him Inver Colpa. Eber Finn and Amergin, the survivors of the southern party, landed in Kerry, and here the battle of Slieve Mis was fought, which has been already mentioned.

The battle of Tailten followed; and the Milesians having become masters of the country, the brothers Eber Finn and Eremon divided it between them; the former taking all the southern part, from the Boyne and the Shannon to Cape Clear, the latter taking all the part lying to the north of these rivers.

This arrangement, however, was not of long continuance. Each was desirous of unlimited sovereignty; and they met to decide their claims by an appeal to arms at Géisill, a place near the present Tullamore, in the King's County. Eber and his chief leaders fell in this engagement, and Eremon assumed the sole government of the island.

The scene of the battle is called 'the causeway between two plains,' and is on the bank of the river which runs through the town of Tullamore. The name of the battle-field is still preserved in the name of the townland of Ballintogher, in the parish and barony of Géisill. In the sixth century, when the ancient topographical tract called the 'Dinnseanchus' was composed, the mounds and graves of the slain were still to be seen.

Eremon took up his residence in Leinster, and after a reign of fifteen years died and was buried in *Argat Ross*. His rath still exists, and is now called Rath Beagh. It is situated on the right bank of the river Nore, near the present village of Ballyragget, county Kilkenny. This is not narrated by the Four Masters, but it is recorded in all the ancient copies of the 'Book of Invasions,' and in the 'Dinnseanchus.' The Cruithneans or Picts are said to have fled from the oppression of their king in Thrace, and to have passed into Gaul. There they founded the city of Poitiers. From thence they were again driven by an act of tyranny, and they proceeded first to Britain, and then to Ireland. Crimhthann Sciath-bél, one of King Eremon's leaders, was at Wexford when the new colony landed. He was occupied in extirpating a tribe of Britons who had settled in Fotharta, and were unpleasantly distinguished for fighting with poisoned weapons. The Irish chieftain asked the assistance of the new comers. A battle was fought, and the Britons were defeated principally by the skill of the Pictish Druid, who found an antidote for the poison of their weapons. According to the quaint account of Bede, the Celtic chiefs gave good advice to their foreign allies in return for their good deeds, and recommended them to settle in North Britain, adding that they would come to their assistance should they find any difficulty or opposition from the inhabitants. The Picts took the advice,

but soon found themselves in want of helpmates. They applied again to their neighbours, and were obligingly supplied with wives on the condition 'that, when any difficulty should arise they should choose a king from the female royal race rather than from the male.' The Picts accepted the terms and the ladies; 'and the custom,' says Bede, 'as is well known, is observed among the Picts to this day.'

CHAPTER II.

THE PAGAN MILESIAK KINGS OF IRELAND.

B. C. 1015 TO A. D. 428.

SYNCHRONOUS EVENTS: Solomon, King of Israel—Revolt of the Ten Tribes—Kingdom of Macedon founded—Foundation of Rome—Sennacherib invades Judea—Termination of the Assyrian Monarchy—Babylon taken by the Persians—Treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians—Persia invaded by Alexander—Punic wars—Death of Pompey—Murder of Cæsar—Birth of JESUS CHRIST—Persecution of the Christians—Alaric besieges Rome.

SECTION I. *The Pagan Milesian Kings.*

A HUNDRED and eighteen sovereigns are said to have ruled in ancient Erin from the Milesian invasion to the coming of St. Patrick. But authentic Irish history is said to commence B. C. 716. Before that period, the principal deeds recorded are the clearing of forests, the enactment of laws, and the erection of forts.

Eremon divided Ireland during the year in which he obtained the sole sovereignty of that country. He gave the province of Ulster to Emhear, son of Ir; Munster to the five sons of Emhear Finn; Connaught to Un and Eadan; and Leinster to Crimhthann, a descendant of the Firbolgs. Eremon had married Tea, the daughter of Lughaidh, son of Ith, in Spain; and she requested a 'choice hill' as her dower, where she might be interred, and where every prince born of her race might dwell. She selected the hill of Druim-Caein. This was the name given by the Firbolg chieftains to the eminence subsequently known as the hill of Teamhair [Tara], *mur* in Irish, signifying a town or palace, and being joined to *Tea* gives its meaning, the house or palace of Tea. Thus was

founded the famous Tara, the ruins of which remain to the present day. The meaning of the name, however, has been variously rendered, and the most generally received interpretation is that Teamhair means a hill commanding a pleasant prospect. Eremon died at Airget-Ros, in the fifteenth year of his reign.

SECTION II. *The Reign of Queen Macha.*

About three hundred years before Christ, three cousins, the sons of three brothers, claimed an equal right to the throne, and it is at this period that the authentic pre-Christian history of Ireland is supposed to commence. These princes were named respectively Hugh the Red, Dithorba, and Kimbay. A compact was made, by which they agreed that each should reign for seven years in turn, and their agreement was confirmed by seven druids, seven poets, and seven champions; 'the seven druids to crush them by their incantations, the seven poets to lacerate them by their satires, the seven young champions to slay and burn them, should the proper man of them not receive the sovereignty at the end of each seventh year.' This compact was observed till each had reigned twice, for seven years in turn. After Hugh the Red had obtained his third septennial, he was drowned at Assaroe (Red Hugh's Cataract). Dithorba succeeded, and then Kimbay; but when it came to Hugh's turn again, his daughter Macha claimed the throne.

The two princes refused to give the sovereign power to a woman, and Macha had recourse to arms to enforce her claim. She obtained the victory, and drove Dithorba and his sons into Connaught, where he was slain. Having thus disposed of one of her opponents, she married the other and allowed him to reign. When the sovereignty had been settled, she marched into Connaught and captured Dithorba's sons, and brought them back in fetters to Ulster, where she compelled them to erect the fort of Enghin that it might always be the chief city of Ulster. A considerable portion of this marvellous fortress is still in

existence, and is now called Navan Fort. It is situated near the present town of Armagh. Macha survived her husband seven years, and was slain by Rectaid; but her death was avenged by her foster-son Ugainé Môr, whose long and prosperous reign forms an important period in Irish pagan records. Ugainé Môr governed Ireland for fifty years; and the annalists declare that his power was acknowledged as far as the Mediterranean Sea. Ugainé Môr (the Great) divided his kingdom between his twenty-five children, of whom twenty-two were sons; and he exacted an oath from the people, 'by the sun and moon, the sea, the dew, and the colours, and all the elements visible and invisible,' that the sovereignty of Erin should not be taken from his descendants for ever. This mode of binding posterity seems to have been a favourite one, for we find it again adopted by Tuathal Techtmar, one of Ugainé's descendants.

Ugainé was succeeded by his son, Lorc, who was cruelly and treacherously killed by his brother, Cael. Indeed, few monarchs lived out their time in peace during this and the succeeding centuries. The assassination of Laeghairé was another manifestation of the old-world story of envy. The treacherous Cael feigned sickness, which he knew would obtain a visit from his brother. When the monarch stooped to embrace him, he plunged a dagger into his heart. His next act was to kill his nephew, Ailill Ainé; and his ill-treatment of Ainé's son, Maen, was the consummation of his cruelty. The fratricide was at last slain by this very youth, who had now obtained the appellation of 'Lowry of the Ships.'

The 'History of the Exile' is still preserved in the *Leabhar Buidhé Lecain*, now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It is a highly romantic story, but evidently founded on fact, and full of interest, as descriptive of public and private life about three centuries before Christ. It tells how Maen, though supposed to be deaf and dumb, was, nevertheless, given in charge of two officers of the court to be educated; that he recovered or rather obtained speech suddenly, in a quarrel with another youth; and that he was as symmetrical of form and noble of bearing as all heroes

of romance are bound to be. His uncle expelled him from the kingdom, and he took refuge at the court of King Scoriath. King Scoriath had a daughter, who was beautiful, and of whom Maen became enamoured. The Lady Moriath's beauty had bewildered more heads than that of the knight-errant; but the Lady Moriath's father and mother were determined their daughter should not marry.

The harper Craftiné came to the rescue, and at last, by his all-entrancing skill, so ravished the whole party of knights and nobles, that the lovers were able to enjoy a tête-à-tête, and pledged mutual vows. The parents yielded when they found it was useless to resist; and, no doubt, the poet Craftiné, who nearly lost his head in the adventure, was the most welcome of all welcome guests at the nuptial feast. Indeed, he appears to have been retained as comptroller of the house and confidential adviser long after; for when Maen was obliged to fly the country, he confided his wife to the care of Craftiné. On his return from France¹ he obtained possession of the kingdom, to which he was the rightful heir, and reigned over the men of Erin for eighteen years.

Another of the Historic Tales gives an account of the destruction of the court at Da Derga, which the 'Annals of the Four Masters' relate thus: 'Conairé, the son of Eiderscel, after having been seventy years in the sovereignty of Erin, was slain at Bringhean Dá Dhearga by the insurgents.' Another prince, Evehy Felia, was noted for sighing. He rescinded the division of Ireland into twenty-five portions, which had been made by Ugainé Nôr for the benefit of his numerous offspring, and divided the island into five provinces, over each of which he appointed a provincial king, under his obedience. Fergus, son of Leide, he made king of Ulster; Dearga, son of Lur, and his relative Tighernach, were made kings of the two Munsters; Rossa, a son of Fergus, was made king of Leinster; Oilioll, who was married to a daughter of Eochy, the famous

¹ It is said that foreigners who came with him from Gaul were armed with broad-headed lances (called in Irish *laighne*), whence the province of Leinster has derived its name.

Méav, was made king of Connaught. This division of Ireland, alike fatal to its prosperity and independence, continued for many centuries.

SECTION III. *Conor MacNessa and Queen Méav.*

Another of the Bardic poems, known as 'Historic Tales,' gives an account of the reign of King Conor MacNessa, and this account we do not feel justified in passing by without notice, although it would be useless to claim for it any historical value. His succession to the throne, we are told, was rather a fortuity than the result of hereditary claim. Fergus MacNessa was rightfully king at the time; but Conor's father having died while he was yet an infant, Fergus, then the reigning monarch, proposed marriage to his mother when the youth was about fifteen, and only obtained her consent on the condition that he should hand over the sovereignty of Ulster to her son for a year. The monarch complied, and Conor, young as he was, governed with such wisdom and discretion, that when the assigned period had arrived, the Ulster men positively refused to permit Fergus to resume his rightful dignity. After much contention the matter was settled definitely in favour of the young monarch, and Fergus satisfied himself with still retaining the wife for whose sake he had willingly made such sacrifices. Conor continued to give ample proofs of the wisdom of his people's decision. Under his government the noble Knights of the Royal Branch sprang up in Ulster, and made themselves famous both in field and court.

It was usual in those barbarous times, whenever a distinguished enemy was killed in battle, to cleave open his head, and to make a ball of the brains by mixing them with lime. One of these balls becomes the subject of another legend, which, like most of the events assigned to these early ages, can make no claim to the character of history. It passed, it is said, into the hands of a Connaught champion, who threw it at Conor, while he was displaying himself, according to the custom of the times, to the ladies of an opposing army, who had followed their

lords to the scene of action. The ball lodged in the king's skull, and his physicians declared that an attempt to extract it would prove fatal. Conor was carried home; he soon recovered, but he was strictly forbidden to use any violent exercise, and required to avoid all excitement or anger. The king enjoyed his usual health by observing those directions, until the very day of the Crucifixion. But the fearful phenomena which then occurred attracted his attention, and he inquired if *Bacrach*, his druid, could divine the cause. The druid consulted his oracles, and informed the king that Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, was, even at that moment, suffering death at the hands of the Jews. 'What crime has He committed?' said Conor. 'None,' replied the druid. 'Then are they slaying Him innocently?' said Conor. 'They are,' replied the druid. It was too great a sorrow for the noble prince; he could not bear that the Son of God should die unmourned; and rushing wildly from where he sat to a neighbouring forest, he began to hew the young trees down, exclaiming: 'Thus would I destroy those who were around my King at putting Him to death.' The excitement proved fatal; and the brave and good King Conor MacNessa died avenging, in his own wild pagan fashion, the death of his Lord.

Méav's exploits are recorded in the Historic Tale of the 'Táin bó Chuailgné,' which is to Celtic history what the myth of the Argonautic Expedition, or of the Seven against Thebes, is to Grecian. Méav was married first to Conor; but the marriage was not a happy one, and was dissolved, in modern parlance, on the ground of incompatibility. In the meanwhile, Méav's three brothers had rebelled against their father; and though his arms were victorious, the victory did not secure peace. The men of Connaught revolted against him, and to retain their allegiance he made his daughter Queen of Connaught, and gave her in marriage to Ailill, a powerful chief of that province. This prince, however, died soon after; and Méav, determined for once, at least, to choose a husband for herself, made a royal progress to Leinster, where Ross Ruadh held his court at Naas. She selected the younger son of this monarch, who bore the same name as her former husband, and they lived together

happily as queen and king consort for many years. On one occasion, however, a dispute arose about their respective treasures, and this dispute led to a comparison of their property. The account of this, and the subsequent comparison, is given at length in the 'Táin,' and is a valuable repertory of archaeological information. They counted their vessels, metal and wooden; they counted their finger rings, their clasps, their thumb rings, their diadems, and their gorgets of gold. They examined their many-coloured garments of crimson and blue, of black and green, yellow and mottled, white and streaked. All were equal. They then inspected their flocks and herds, swine from the forests, sheep from the pasture lands, and cows—here the first difference arose. It was one to excite Méav's haughty temper. There was a young bull found among Ailill's bovine wealth: it had been calved by one of Méav's cows; but 'not deeming it honourable to be under a woman's control,' it had attached itself to Ailill's herds. Méav was not a lady who could remain quiet under such provocation. She summoned her chief courier, and asked him if he could find a match for Finnbheannach (the white-horned). The courier declared that he could find even a superior animal; and at once set forth on his mission, suitably attended. Méav had offered the most liberal rewards for the prize she so much coveted; and the courier soon arranged with Daré, a noble of large estates, who possessed one of the valuable breed. A drunken quarrel, however, disarranged his plans. One of the men boasted that if Daré had not given the bull for payment, he should have been compelled to give it by force. Daré's steward heard the ill-timed and uncourteous boast. He flung down the meat and drink which he had brought for their entertainment, and went to tell his master the contemptuous speech. The result may be anticipated. Daré refused the much-coveted animal, and Méav proceeded to make good her claim by force of arms. But this is only the prologue of the drama; the details would fill a volume. It must suffice to say, that the bulls had a battle of their own. Finnbheannach and Donn Chuailgné (the Leinster bull) engaged in deadly combat, which is described with the wildest flights of poetic diction. The poor 'white horn'

was killed, and Donn Chuailgné, who had lashed himself to madness, dashed out his brains.

Méav lived to the venerable age of a hundred. According to Tighernach, she died A.D. 70, but the chronology of the Four Masters places her demise a hundred years earlier. On this difference of calculation depends the monarch who is to be assigned as reigning in Ireland at the birth of Christ. The following passage is from the 'Book of Ballymote,' and is supposed to be taken from the synchronisms of Flann of Monasterboice:—'In the fourteenth year of the reign of Conairé and of Conchobar, Mary was born; and in the fourth year after the birth of Mary, the expedition of the Táin bó Chuailgné took place. Eight years after the expedition of the Táin, Christ was born.'

SECTION IV. *The Revolt of the Attacotti.*

According to the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' the birth of Christ took place in the eighth year of the reign of Crinsthann Niadhuair. Under the heading of the age of Christ 9, there is an account of a wonderful expedition of this monarch, and of all the treasures he acquired thereby. His 'adventures' is among the list of Historic Tales in the 'Book of Leinster,' but, unfortunately, there is no copy of this tract in existence. It was probably about this time that a recreant Irish chieftain tried to induce Agricola to invade Ireland. But the Irish Celts had extended the fame of their military prowess even to distant lands, and the Roman general thought it better policy to keep what he had than to risk its loss, and, perhaps, obtain no compensation. Previous to Cæsar's conquest of Britain, the Irish had fitted out several expeditions for the plunder of that country, but they do not appear to have suffered from retaliation until the reign of Egbert. It is evident, however, that the Britons did not consider them their worst enemies, for we find mention of several colonies flying to the Irish shores to escape Roman tyranny, and these colonies were hospitably received. Tacitus refers thus to the proposed invasion of Ireland by the Roman

forces:—‘In the fifth year of these expeditions, Agricola, passing over in the first ship, subdued in frequent victories nations hitherto unknown. He stationed troops along that part of Britain which looks to Ireland, more on account of hope than fear, since Ireland, from its situation between Britain and Spain, and opening to the Gallic Sea, might well connect the most powerful parts of the empire with reciprocal advantage. Its extent, compared with Britain, is narrower, but exceeds that of any islands of our sea. The genius and habits of the people, and the soil and climate, do not differ much from those of Britain. Its channels and ports are better known to commerce and to merchants. Agricola gave his protection to one of its petty kings, who had been expelled by faction; and with a show of friendship, he retained him for his own purposes. I often heard him say that Ireland could be conquered and held with one legion and a small reserve; and such a measure would have its advantages, even as regards Britain, if Roman power were extended on every side, and liberty taken away, as it were, from the view of the latter island.’

The proper name of the recreant ‘Regulus’ has not been discovered, so that his treachery must be transmitted anonymously to posterity. Sir John Davis, however, has well observed, ‘that, if Agricola had attempted the conquest of Ireland with a far greater army, he would have found himself deceived in his conjecture.’ William of Neuburg has also remarked, that though the Romans harassed the Britons for three centuries after this event, Ireland never was invaded by them, even when they held dominion of the Orkney Islands, and that it yielded to no foreign power until the year 1171. Indeed, the Scots and Picts gave their legions quite sufficient occupation defending the ramparts of Adrian and Antoninus, to deter them from attempting to obtain more, when they could so hardly hold what they already possessed.

The insurrection of the Aitheach Tuatha, or Attacotti, is the next event of importance in Irish history. Their plans were deeply and wisely laid, and promised the success they obtained.

According to one account, these Attacotti were the

'unfree' tribes, or plebeians, and mainly descended from the Firbolgs. According to another account, they were Milesians, that is, a part of the great tribe who then possessed and mainly peopled Ireland; but they were of the lower classes, and cruelly oppressed by their masters. The word *Aitheach Tuatha* means rent-payers, or rent-paying tribes or people.

Another revolt of the Attacotti took place in the reign of Fiacha of the White Cattle. He was killed by the provincial kings, at the slaughter of Magh Bolg. Elim, one of the perpetrators of this outrage, obtained the crown, but his reign was singularly unprosperous; and 'Ireland was without corn, without milk, without fruit, without fish, and without any other great advantage, since the *Aitheach Tuatha* had killed Fiacha Finnolaidh in the slaughter of Magh Bolg, till the time of Tuathal Teachtmair.'

SECTION V. *The Origin of the Boromean Tribute.*

A.D. 106.

Tuathal was the son of a former legitimate monarch, and had been invited to Ireland by a powerful party. He was perpetually at war with the Attacotti, but at last established himself firmly on the throne, by exacting an oath from the people, 'by the sun, moon, and elements,' that his posterity should not be deprived of the sovereignty. This oath was taken at Tara, where he had convened a general assembly, as had been customary with his predecessors at the commencement of each reign; but it was held by him with more than usual state. His next act was to take a small portion of land from each of the four provinces, forming what is now the present county of Meath, and retaining it as the mensal portion of the Ard-Righ, or supreme monarch. On each of these portions he erected a palace for the king of every province, details of which will be given when we come to that period of our history which refers to the destruction of Tara. Tuathal had at this time two beautiful and marriageable daughters, named Fithir and Dairiné. Eochaidh, King of Leinster, married the younger

daughter, Dairiné, and carried her to his palace at Naas, in Leinster. Some time after, his people persuaded him that he had made a bad selection, and that the elder was the better of the two sisters; upon which Eochaidh determined by stratagem to obtain the other daughter also. For this purpose he shut the young queen up in a secret apartment of his palace, and gave out a report that she was dead. He then repaired, apparently in great grief, to Tara, informed the monarch that his daughter was dead, and demanded her sister in marriage. Tuathal gave his consent, and the false king returned home with his new bride. Soon after her arrival at Naas, her sister escaped from her confinement, and suddenly and unexpectedly encountered the prince and Fithir. In a moment she divined the truth, and had the additional anguish of seeing her sister, who was struck with horror and shame, fall dead before her face. The death of the unhappy princess, and the treachery of her husband, was too much for the young queen; she returned to her solitary chamber, and in a very short time died of a broken heart.

The insult offered to his daughters, and their untimely death, roused the indignation of the pagan monarch, and was soon bitterly avenged. At the head of a powerful force, he burned and ravaged Leinster to its utmost boundary, and then compelled its humbled and terror-stricken people to bind themselves and their descendants for ever to the payment of a triennial tribute to the monarch of Erin, which, from the great number of cows exacted by it, obtained the name of the 'Boromean Tribute'—*bo* being the Irish for a cow. So runs the institutional legend.

The tribute is thus described in the old Annals:

The men of Leinster were obliged to pay
 To Tuathal, and all the monarchs after him,
 Three-score hundred of the fairest cows,
 And three-score hundred ounces of pure silver,
 And three-score hundred mantles richly woven,
 And three-score hundred of the fattest hogs,
 And three-score hundred of the largest sheep,
 And three-score hundred cauldrons strong and polished.

It is elsewhere described as consisting of five thousand

ounces of silver, five thousand mantles, five thousand fat cows, five thousand fat hogs, five thousand wethers, and five thousand vessels of brass or bronze for the king's laving, with men and maidens for his service.

The levying of the tribute was the cause of periodical and sanguinary wars, from the time of Tuathal until the reign of Fuinachta the Festive. It was abolished about the year 680 at the entreaty of St. Moling. It was, however, again revived and exacted by Brian Boru in the eleventh century, to punish the Leinster men for their adherence to the Danish cause.

SECTION VI.

Conn of the Hundred Battles.—Conairé II.—The Three Cairbrés and Cormac MacAirt.

Tuathal reigned for thirty years, and is said to have fought no less than a hundred and thirty-three battles with the Attacotti. He was at last slain by his successor Nial, who, after a reign of four years, was slain by Tuathal's son, Felemy, or the law-maker; Felemy having substituted the law of eric, or fine, for the law of retaliation.

Felemy was succeeded by his son, Conn of the 'Hundred Battles.' His exploits are a famous theme with the bards, and a poem on his 'Birth' forms part of the 'Liber Flavus Fergusorum,' a manuscript volume of the fifteenth century. In his reign is also recorded the completion of five great roads. One of these highways, the Eiscir Riada, extended from the declivity on which Dublin Castle now stands, to the peninsula of Marey, at the head of Galway Bay. It divided Conn's half of Ireland from the half possessed by Eóghan Môr, with whom he lived in the usual state of internecine feud which characterised the reigns of this early period. One of the principal quarrels between these monarchs was caused by a complaint which Eóghan made of the shipping arrangements in Dublin. Conn's half (the northern side) was preferred, and Eóghan demanded a fair division. They decided their claims at the battle of Magh Lena. Eóghan was assisted by a Spanish chief, whose sister he had married. But the Iberian and his Celtic

brother-in-law were both slain, and the mounds are still shown which cover their remains.

The five roads were named Slighe Asail, Slighe Moyra, Slighe Cualann, Slighe Dula, and Slighe Môr. These roads all branched out from Tara, then the seat of Irish government. Slighe Asail went westward in the direction of Lough Owel, near Mullingar, in Westmeath. Slighe Moyra led into the north of Ireland, but the exact line of direction has not been discovered. Slighe Cualann has been identified as probably the same as the present road from Tara to Dublin and Bray. Slighe Môr, the great road, was a western line, determined by the position of the Eiscir Riada, a continuous line of gravel hills, extending from Dublin to Clarenbridge, in the county Galway. Slighe Dula was the great south-western road of ancient Ireland, extending from the southern side of Tara Hill in the direction of Ossory.

Conn was succeeded by Conairé II., the father of the three Cairbrés, who were progenitors of important tribes. Cairbré Musc gave his name to six districts in Munster.

The reign of Cormac MacAirt is unquestionably the most celebrated of all the pagan monarchs. During his early years he had been compelled to conceal himself among his mother's friends in Connaught; but the severe rule of the usurper MacCon excited a desire for his removal, and the friends of the young prince were not slow to avail themselves of the popular feeling. He, therefore, appeared unexpectedly at Tara, and happened to arrive when the monarch was giving judgment in an important case, which is thus related: Some sheep, the property of a widow residing at Tara, had strayed into the queen's private lawn, and eaten the grass. They were captured, and the case was brought before the king. He decided that the trespassers should be forfeited; but Cormac exclaimed that his sentence was unjust, and declared that as the sheep had only eaten the fleece of the land, they should only forfeit their own fleece. The *vox populi* applauded the decision. MacCon started from his seat, and exclaimed: 'That is the judgment of a king.' At the same moment he recognised the prince, and commanded that he should be seized; but he had already escaped. The people now recognised their

rightful king, and revolted against the usurper, who was driven into Munster. Cormac assumed the reins of government at Tara, and thus entered upon his brilliant and important career, it is said, A.D. 227.

Cormac commenced his government with acts of severity, which were, perhaps, necessary to consolidate his power. This being once firmly established, he devoted himself ardently to the task of regulating and civilising his dominions. He collected the national laws, and formed a code which remained in force until the English invasion, and was observed for many centuries after outside the Pale. The bards dwell with manifest unction on the 'fruit and fatness' of the land in his time, and describe him as the noblest and most bountiful of all princes.

The compilation of the 'Saltair of Tara' is attributed to this monarch, and even the Christian annalists proclaim his praises. The poet Maelmura, who lived in the eighth century, styles him 'Ceolach,' or 'the Musical,' and Kenneth O'Hartigan, who died A.D. 973, gives a glowing description of his magnificence, and of his royal palace at Tara. O'Flaherty quotes a poem, which he says contains an account of three schools, instituted by Cormac at Tara; one for military discipline, one for history, and the third for jurisprudence. The Four Masters say: 'It was this Cormac, son of Art, also, that collected the chronicles of Ireland to Teamhair [Tara], and ordered them to write the chronicles of Ireland in one book, which was named the "Saltair of Teamhair." In that book were [entered] the coeval exploits and synchronisms of the kings of Ireland with the kings and emperors of the world, and of the kings of the provinces with the monarchs of Ireland. In it was also written what the monarchs of Ireland were entitled to [receive] from the provincial kings, and the rents and dues of the provincial kings from their subjects, from the noble to the subaltern. In it, also, were [described] the boundaries and mears of Ireland from shore to shore, from the provinces to the cantred, from the cantred to the townland, from the townland to the traighedh of land.' Although the 'Saltair of Tara' has disappeared from the national records, a law tract, called the 'Book of Acaill,' is still in

existence, which is attributed to this king. It is always found annexed to a Law Treatise by Cennfaelad the Learned, who died A.D. 677. In an ancient MS. in Trinity College, Dublin (Class, H. L. 15, p. 149), it is stated that it was the custom, at the inauguration of Irish chiefs, to read the 'Instructions of the Kings' (a work ascribed to Cormac) and his Laws.

There is a tradition that Cormac became a Christian before his death. In the thirty-ninth year of his reign, one of his eyes was thrust out by a spear, and he retired in consequence to one of those peaceful abodes of learning which were so carefully fostered in ancient Erin. The Brehon Law required that the king should have no personal blemish; and Cormac accordingly vacated the throne. He died A.D. 266, at Cleitach, near Stackallen Bridge, on the south bank of the Boyne. It is said that he was choked by a salmon bone, and that this happened through the contrivances of the druids, who wished to avenge themselves on him for his rejection of their superstitions.

SECTION VII.

Finn MacCoole. Nial of the Nine Hostages, and Dathi.

A.D. 268—428.

The reign of Cormac was made still more remarkable by the exploits of his son-in-law, the famous Finn MacCoole. Finn was famous, both as a poet and warrior. Indeed, poetical qualifications were considered essential to obtain a place in the select militia of which he was the last commander. The courtship of the poet-warrior with the Princess Ailbhé, Cormac's daughter, is related in one of the ancient Historic Tales called 'Tochmarca,' or Courtships. The lady is said to have been the wisest woman of her time, and the wooing is described in the form of conversations, which savour more of a trial of skill in ability and knowledge than of the soft utterances which distinguish such narratives in modern days. It is supposed that the Fenian force which he commanded was modelled after the fashion of the Roman legions; but its loyalty is more questionable, for it was eventually disbanded for insubordination, although the

exploits of its heroes are a favourite topic with the bards. The Fenian poems, on which Macpherson founded his celebrated forgery, are ascribed to Finn's sons, Oísín and Fergus the Eloquent, and to his kinsman Caeilté, as well as to himself. Five poems only are ascribed to him, but these are found in manuscripts of considerable antiquity. The poems of Oísín were selected by the Scotch writer for his grand experiment. He gave a highly poetical translation of what purported to be some ancient and genuine composition, but, unfortunately for his veracity, he could not produce the original. Some of the real compositions of the Fenian hero are, however, still extant in the 'Book of Leinster,' as well as other valuable Fenian poems. There are also some Fenian tales in prose, of which the most remarkable is that of the 'Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainné'—a legend which has left its impress in every portion of the island to the present day. Finn, in his old age, asked the hand of Grainné, the daughter of Cormac MacAirt; but the lady being young preferred a younger lover. To effect her purpose, she drugged the guest-cup so effectually, that Finn, and all the guests invited with him, were plunged into a profound slumber after they had partaken of it. Oísín and Diarmaid alone escaped, and to them the lady Grainné confided her grief. As true knights they were bound to rescue her from the dilemma. Oísín could scarcely dare to brave his father's vengeance, but Diarmaid at once fled with the lady. A pursuit followed, which extended all over Ireland, during which the young couple always escaped. So deeply is the tradition engraven in the popular mind, that some cromlechs are still called the 'Beds of Diarmaid and Grainné,' and shown as the resting-places of the fugitive lovers.

Some romantic stories are also related of Cormac himself. It is said that when a young man he was wandering through the woods near Cennanus, the present Sligo, and that he met there a fair young damsel called Ethni. She was the foster child of a Leinster exile, who had exhausted all his wealth in hospitality, until his flocks were so reduced that he had only seven cows and one bull left. Ethni devoted herself to the care of these animals in the retirement which her foster-parents had chosen, and the king watched her ful-

filling her domestic duties unperceived. The conversation between Cormac and the lady is given at considerable length, and it is also recorded that, after their marriage, Cormac bestowed considerable wealth on his wife's foster-father. Cormac had ten daughters, two of whom, Grainné and Ailbhé, have been already mentioned. Cormac bestowed the latter on Finn MacCumhaill in marriage when Grainné fled with his lieutenant.

Cormac maintained a princely retinue, and royal state at Tara. In the great hall which he erected, one hundred and fifty warriors stood in his presence when he sat down to the banquet. One hundred and fifty cup-bearers also attended, with as many cups of silver and gold. The latter part of this account might be deemed legendary, were there not so many remains to prove the highly ornamental character and the rich quality of early Irish art. Cormac also ordained that a prince of the royal blood, a brehon, a druid, a physician, a bard, a historian, a musician, and three stewards, should attend every Irish monarch. His entertainments also were on a scale of princely liberality.

Nial of the Nine Hostages, and Dathi, are the last pagan monarchs who demand special notice. In the year 322, Fiacha was slain by the three Collas, and a few short-lived monarchs succeeded. In 378, Crimhthann was poisoned by his sister, who hoped that her eldest son, Brian, might obtain the royal power. Her attempt failed, although she sacrificed herself for its accomplishment, by taking the poisoned cup to remove her brother's suspicions; and Nial of the Nine Hostages, the son of her husband by a former wife, succeeded to the coveted dignity. This monarch distinguished himself by predatory warfare against Albion and Gaul. The 'groans' of the Britons testify to his success in that quarter; and the Latin poet, Claudian, gives evidence that troops were sent by Stilicho, the general of Theodosius the Great, to repel his successful forays. His successor, Dathi, was killed by lightning at the foot of the Alps. Donald MacFirbis states, from the records of his ancestors, that the body was carried home to Ireland and buried at Rathcorghan, where his grave was marked by a red pillar-stone.

CHAPTER III.

THE RELIGION, LANGUAGE, LAWS, ARCHITECTURE,
DOMESTIC CUSTOMS, FOOD, DRESS, OCCUPATIONS,
AND MUSIC OF THE PAGAN IRISH.

FROM THE EARLIEST TRADITIONS TO A.D. 428.

SECTION I. *The Religion of the Pagan Irish.*

THERE is considerable difficulty in ascertaining precisely what form of religious belief prevailed in pagan Ireland. As St. Patrick and his disciples carefully destroyed all vestiges of idolatry, whether written or graven, information can be obtained only by inductions drawn from the few well-authenticated accounts. The earliest traditions represent the Irish Celt as a sun-worshipper, and indicate an Eastern origin for this purest form of paganism. The frequent erection of pillar-stones also points in the same direction. Hence, probably, the uniform tradition that the Lia Fail, or Stone of Destiny, which the late Dr. O'Donovan and many of the most careful Irish antiquarians believe still to exist at Tara, is identical with the stone which Jacob used as a pillow when he beheld the vision of the angels. It is quite possible that the stone may have been an object of reverence or worship, and that the first colonists brought it with them from the East. Whether they brought the tradition of its origin, or whether it was put forward in Christian times, is quite another question.

There is unquestionable proof that fire-worship was continued until the time of St. Patrick, and that some kind of idol worship had been introduced some centuries before, and was also practised when the Christian missionaries first visited Ireland. The indications of fire-worship remain in

the Celtic name for the first day of summer, Beltinne, which is thus explained:—‘Beltinne, the lucky fire, that is, two fires which used to be made by the law-givers, or druids, with great incantations, and they used to drive the cattle between them, to guard against the diseases of each year. Bel was the name of an idol god. It was on that day that the firstlings of every kind of cattle used to be exhibited as in the possession of Bel.’¹

When St. Patrick visited Tara the pagan king was celebrating some fire festival, though, according to the best authorities, this festival was not the principal one, known as the Beltinne. The season in which that ceremony was performed has not yet been discovered, as no special time is named in the old annals; but it was probably the first of May, for that day is still called *La Bealtinne* by the Irish-speaking Celt. In the neighbourhood of Dublin fires are lighted on that day, as well as on the twenty-fourth of June, the day on which the old pagan custom is generally observed throughout the island.

Certain groves and trees were also revered, though there is no evidence to show any special worship of the oak or mistletoe. In the ‘Brehon Laws’ a certain fine is mentioned for injuring the trees of sacred groves; and in an ancient manuscript glossary the name *Nemed*, given to a poet, is said to be akin to the Latin *Nemus*, a grove, as it was in *Fidnemeds* (sacred groves) that the poets composed their works.

The rowan and blackthorn trees were deemed especially sacred; and one of the Celtic druidical ordeals on record requires a woman, who wishes to clear her character, to rub her tongue upon a brass adze, which should be heated and reddened in a fire made of the rowan tree or the blackthorn.

A number of curious restrictions are also on record, by which the Irish pagan kings were bound to observe certain practices, and to avoid certain circumstances. Such restrictions are not without parallels in the observances of

¹ See *The Book of Rights*, edited by Dr. O’Donovan, for the Celtic Society, and Petrie’s *Antiquities of Tara Hill*.

other nations, and many maxims of a similar nature are scrupulously observed, even by the educated classes, in our own times. Thus, the monarch of Ireland was forbidden to alight on a Wednesday in *Magh Breagh*, to go on a Monday into North *Teabltha*, or to go in a ship upon the water on the day of the Bealtinne. The classical reader will recall observances of a like nature, as frequently mentioned by the Latin poets.

The Irish Celts also had their stone circles, resembling those of Stonehenge in England, Carnac in Brittany, and Rutzlingen in Hanover. It is not, however, as yet quite certain whether these mystic circles in Ireland were sepulchral enclosures surrounding tumuli or cromlechs, or were used for other purposes. They will, therefore, be referred to the section treating of this subject.

Funeral rites were observed with great care, and much respect was shown to the remains of deceased heroes. A warrior and a hero were in those days convertible terms. Mortuary urns are among the most numerous class of remains which have been discovered in Ireland, and exhibited various kinds and degrees of artistic skill. They have been found singly in small Cists, or stone chambers, or collectively in earthen mounds; sometimes, under such circumstances, even to the amount of one hundred. The positions vary in which these urns are found—some are placed erect, and some inverted. They contain fragments of bones, which have been evidently subject to the action of fire, and as charred wood and vitrified stones are frequently found in the cromlechs, it is probable that cremation took place upon the spot. Cremation, however, was not a rule, for there is evidence that some bodies were buried clothed in the costume of the period, and decorated with the ornaments and weapons suitable to their rank. The posture was either sitting or recumbent. Soon after the introduction of Christianity, it is recorded that the body of *Laeghairé* was interred with his shield of silver, in the royal bath at Tara, with his face to the south, as if fighting with the Leinster men.

SECTION II.

The Language and Literature of the Pagan Irish.

The Celtic dialects belong to the great Indo-Germanic, or Aryan, family of languages. As each successive migration departed from the parent stock, it took with it the parent language in the form into which it had been altered by modification or development during the period which had elapsed from the preceding migration. The migration which preceded would therefore have some slight difference in its forms of speech, and would also have had its language acted upon more or less from without, for the waves of varied tongues act on each other as the ocean wave on the boulder by the sea-shore. Each swarm from the parent hive took with it the parent language, and preserved it in the main, so that certain great families of languages can be traced at once, by (1) marking the common words which express domestic occupations and the names of articles in ordinary use; and (2) by removing the terminations or inflections of nouns, and the tenses of verbs, and reducing words to their roots, when a common form will be discovered. The influence of other families of languages on the Celtic dialects, in consequence of intercommunication, is evidenced in the fact that the Irish Celtic has greater affinity with the Latin, the Welsh Celtic with the Greek, while the Celtic itself is a still older branch of the undiscovered mother tongue; for the Sanscrit, allowed, until lately, to claim this honour, is now relegated to the place of a congener to the other classes of the Aryan family. It takes, however, the lead in philological importance, partly from its presumed close resemblance to the unknown primitive tongue, and partly from the regularity of its structure.

Pritchard observes that a great number of Celtic words, if not the greater number, may be reduced to monosyllabic words, if stripped of their affixes and suffixes, and that these words, always verbs, are closely connected with roots found in Sanscrit. Modern philologists have placed the

science on its true basis by resting their inductions and classifications on grammatical forms, and discarding the old and most imperfect method of merely observing phonic affinities.

Professor Max Müller remarks that the Celts were the first of the Aryans who arrived in Europe, and Pritchard dates the first separation at about three thousand years before the Christian era.

The Irish alphabet consists of seventeen letters, which, like the Hebrew, have distinctive names, and bear also a meaning apart from their use as the nomenclature of each letter. But whereas the Hebrew names of letters bear, as a series, no special significance, there is a marked significance in the Celtic, the name of each letter being also the name of some tree indigenous to Ireland. Hence it has been supposed that the trees were named by early colonists after the letters. The whole subject is, however, too much open to conjectures which may be false, and conclusions whose premisses may be some day proved to be untenable, to admit of any definite statements. The letters were named thus:—

1. B. <i>Beith</i>	Birch	10. G. <i>Gort</i>	Ivy
2. L. <i>Luis</i>	Mountain Ash	11. P. <i>Peth</i>	
3. F. <i>Fearn</i>	Alder	12. R. <i>Ruis</i>	Elder
4. S. <i>Suil</i>	Willow	13. A. <i>Aihn</i>	Fir Tree
5. N. <i>Nion</i>	Ash	14. O. <i>Onn</i>	Broom
6. D. <i>Duir</i>	Oak	15. U. <i>Ur</i>	Heath
7. T. <i>Teine</i>		16. E. <i>Eadha</i>	Aspen
8. C. <i>Coll</i>	Hazel	17. I. <i>Eaya</i>	Yew
9. M. <i>Muin</i>	Vine		

Some authorities add the letter H, but it is used merely to indicate the aspirated form of other letters, and never as an independent radical letter. The chief distinctive characteristics of the Celtic language are, (1) a euphonic principle which modifies the vowels of a word; (2) each consonant has a twofold sound, broad and slender. The Irish rule of 'slender to slender, and broad to broad,' is very similar to the law of vocal harmony in the Finnic-Tartarian, or

northern family of languages. The slender vowels are *i*, *e*, and the broad *a*, *o*, *u*.

The present spoken Irish language has changed so considerably in pronunciation, and especially in grammatical structure by the addition of case endings to nouns, that a modern Irish-speaking person would not understand the ancient written language, and the pure ancient Celtic manuscripts cannot be read by an ordinary Celtic scholar. But the value of these manuscripts to the philologist has been most promptly recognised by German scholars, of which abundant evidence is given by Zeüss in his '*Grammatica Celtica*,' and by Bopp in his '*Glossarium Comparativum Linguae Sanscritæ*.'

The Ogham alphabet is supposed to have been in use amongst the Pagan Irish Celts, by those who believe that they had some knowledge of writing in pre-Christian times.

It corresponds in the names and in the numbers of the letters with the Celtic alphabet already described; but, instead of letters, lines or groups of lines are used, which are arranged with reference to a single stem line, or the sharp edge of any substance on which they may be engraved. Ogham inscriptions in general begin from the bottom, and are read upwards from left to right. They are generally merely indications of the name and family of some deceased hero, and are inscribed on his pillar-stone. The greater number of these inscriptions are found in Cork and Kerry, but a few have been noticed in Wales and Scotland, and one in Shetland.

Pliny says that tablets of wood were in use before the time of Homer; Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius inform us that the laws of Solon were inscribed on tables of wood. Thus, before the use of papyrus was discovered, stone and wood were universally employed to preserve records of public events; and even in our own times, when it is a special object to ensure the permanence of an inscription it is recorded on some solid, and, as far as may be, imperishable material.

SECTION III. *The Laws and Customs of the Pagan Irish.*

The laws of ancient Erin demand full and special notice, which shall be given at a later period, when they come historically under notice at the time of their revision by St. Patrick. Some customs will, however, be mentioned here, as many of them are referable to the earliest period of Celtic history.

According to Dr. O'Donovan, an eminent authority, the pagan Irish divided the year into four quarters, each of which began with a stated day. These quarters were named respectively *Earrach*, *Samhradh*, *Foghmhar*, and *Geimhridh*. These are, unquestionably, pure Celtic words, and have not been in any way derived from the Latin through Christian teachers, an evident proof of the antiquity of this division. Bealtinne was the first day of the summer season (*Samhradh*), and fires were lighted to celebrate its advent. On the first day of harvest (*Foghmhar*) games were celebrated at Tailte, and fires were lighted at Tlachtgha. The beginning of spring (*Earrach*) was called *Ormelc*, which is derived from *oi*, ewe, and *melc*, milk.

According to the ancient Annals, the Irish had many roads, which were cleaned and repaired regularly according to law. These are described with great minuteness. It is further specified, that they should be cleaned at special times, and that they should be kept free from brushwood, water, and weeds; an indication that roads, even in the most populous districts, were by no means as frequently traversed then as now.

SECTION IV.

Architecture, Domestic Habitations, Weapons, and Dress of the Pagan Celt.

A remarkable resemblance has been noticed between the pagan military architecture of Ireland, and the early Pelasgian monuments in Greece. They consist of enclosures, generally circular, of massive clay walls, built without any kind of mortar or cement, from six to sixteen feet thick.

These forts or fortresses are usually entered by a narrow doorway, wider at the bottom than at the top, and are of Cyclopean architecture. Indeed, some of the remains in Ireland can only be compared to the pyramids of Egypt, so massive are the blocks of stone used in their construction. As this stone is frequently of a kind not to be found in the immediate neighbourhood, the means used for their transportation are as much a matter of surprise and conjecture, as those by which they were placed in the position in which they are found. The most remarkable of these forts may still be seen in the Isles of Arran, on the west coast of Galway; there are others in Donegal, Mayo, and in Kerry. Some of these erections have chambers in their massive walls, and in others stairs are found round the interior of the wall; these lead to narrow platforms, varying from eight to forty-three feet in length, on which the warriors or defenders stood. The fort of Dunmohr, in the middle island of Arran, is supposed to be at least 2,000 years old. Besides these forts, there was the private house, a stone habitation, called a *clochann*, in which an individual or family resided; the large circular dome-roofed buildings, in which probably a community lived; and the rath, intrenched and stockaded.

But stone was not the only material used for places of defence or domestic dwellings. The most curious and interesting of ancient Irish habitations is the *crannoge*, a name whose precise etymology is uncertain, though there is little doubt that it refers in some way to the peculiar nature of the structure.

The crannoges were formed on small islets or shallows of clay or marl in the centre of a lake, probably dry in summer, but submerged in winter. These little islands, or mounds, were used as a foundation for this singular habitation. Piles of wood, or heaps of stone and bones driven into or heaped on the soil, formed the support of the crannoge. They were used as places of retreat or concealment, and are usually found near the ruins of such old forts or castles as are in the vicinity of lakes or marshes. Sometimes they are connected with the mainland by a causeway, but usually there is no appearance of any; and

a small canoe has been, with but very few exceptions, discovered in or near each crannoge.

Since the investigation of these erections in Ireland, others have been discovered in the Swiss lakes of a similar kind, containing, or rather formed on, the same extraordinary accumulation of bones between the wooden piles.

The cromlechs, pillar-stones, and large stone circles all belong to sepulchral rites, and the more or less ornamented urns in which the remains of the dead were deposited. The Irish keen [*caoine*] may still be heard in Algeria and Upper Egypt, even as Herodotus heard it chanted by Lybian women. This wailing for the deceased is a most ancient custom; and if antiquity imparts dignity, it can hardly be termed barbarous. The Romans employed keeners at their funerals, an idea which they probably borrowed from the Etruscans, with many others incomparably more valuable, but carefully self-appropriated. The Irish *wake* also may have had an identity of origin with the funeral feasts of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans, whose customs were all probably derived from a common source.

The peculiar objects called celts, and the weapons and domestic utensils of this or an earlier period, are a subject of scarcely less interest.

Among primitive nations, the tool and the weapon differed but little. The hatchet which served to fell the tree, was as readily used to cleave open the head of an enemy. The knife, whether of stone or hard wood, carved the hunter's prey, or gave a death-stroke in battle. Such weapons or implements have, however, frequently been found with metal articles, under circumstances which leave little doubt that the use of the former was continued long after the discovery of the superior value of the latter. Probably, even while the Tuatha Dé Danann artificers were framing their more refined weapons for the use of nobles and knights, the rude fashioner of flint-arrows and spear-heads still continued to exercise the craft he had learned from his forefathers, for the benefit of poorer or less fastidious warriors.

The collection of antiquities in the Royal Irish Academy furnishes abundant evidence that the pagan Irish were well

skilled in the higher arts of working in metals. If the arbitrary division of the ages of stone, bronze, and iron, can be made to hold good, we must either suppose that the Irish Celt was possessed of extraordinary mental powers, by which he developed the mechanical arts gradually, or that, with successive immigrations, he obtained an increase of knowledge from exterior sources. The bardic annals favour the latter theory.

The principal weapons of the Pagan Celt were first, in the stone age, flint knives, some of which were formed with great care and considerable skill, and sling-stones, which are mentioned constantly in the early annals as doing deadly service on the field of battle. Stones were also used as a very effective missile for the destruction of birds, and every warrior carried in his belt or girdle a stone called *Lia Miledh*; but it is not known whether this stone was used with a sling or merely thrown by hand. Arrow-heads of flint are also found in great numbers, and spears of the same material. The spears are carefully polished; the arrow-heads are rough, but well formed. Serrated flint implements are rare, though very abundant in Scandinavian finds. Stone celts are found in great abundance, and some are remarkable for their beauty and polish. It is doubtful whether the celt was a tool or weapon; probably it was used for both purposes. Stone hammers and axes have also been found. Stone moulds for casting bronze celts and arrows are also amongst some of the most interesting remains in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy.

The principal domestic utensils were stone cups, flint knives, and grain-rubbers, for tritulating corn. The Irish were, from the earliest ages, an agricultural people. It is a well-established fact that grain, and particularly wheat, both white and red, with oats and rye, were grown abundantly in Ireland before the Christian era. The quern, a step beyond the mere grain-rubber, which must be of extreme antiquity, is also well represented. Querns are still used in some remote districts in Ireland.

The earliest dress was undoubtedly skins of animals, and civilisation has only advanced as far from the original costume as it has, by advanced skill, improved in preparing

it. A skin dress, or at least a portion of it, still remains, evidencing the use of that material. Portions of the seams still remain, which are sewn with fine gut, and with remarkable neatness. A careful examination of the surface shows that the material is deer skin. The use of leathern clothes is mentioned at a comparatively late period of Irish history.

Shoes and boots, of great antiquity, have also been found. Some of them are made of a single piece of leather.

Woollen garments were undoubtedly in use at a very early period, and particular colours were worn as an indication of rank. A deep yellow—called in Celtic *croch*, and by the English settlers saffron—was for many centuries the prevailing hue of Irish garments.

The bards were allowed to wear some distinctive dress of birds' feathers, and mention is made on several occasions of this peculiar costume.

SECTION V. *The Fauna and Flora of Ireland.*

One of the oldest lists of the animals of the British Isles is contained in an Irish poem in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, the original of which was written in the ninth century; but there are a few references to this subject in the Annals. The brown bear—in Irish, *mathghamhain*—was one of the largest of the carnivora. The great cave bear coexisted with the mammoth; and the gigantic Irish elk (*Cervus megaceros*), for which there is no Irish name, is the tallest animal of its class, but palæontologists are doubtful of its coexistence with man. The wolf—in Irish, *cir allinch*, or the wild hound, and sometimes also called *mactire*, or the son of the soil—existed until the beginning of the last century. The Irish greyhound, *cir*, has also become extinct. Besides these more noticeable animals, there were the fox, the red dog, the otter, the badger, the martin, the stoat and weasel, and the wild and domestic cat. The seal also abounded upon the sea coasts.

For domestic purposes, there were the sheep and goat, and the red deer, *fiodh ruadh*, the chief object of the chase. The horse was coexistent with the elephant in pre-historic

times, and the wild boar abounded in the woods until a recent period. The hare, called in Irish *gearr-fíodh* (the short-eared), and the rabbit, were also numerous; but the great wealth of the Pagan herdsman was his cattle, and some of the most sanguinary feuds recorded in the Annals were simply raids, in which the victorious party marched off triumphantly with the cattle of his enemies. Barter was also carried on by exchange of sheep and oxen, and the annalists carefully recorded the many epidemics by which their flocks were decimated.

Fish was abundant, and much used as an article of food, especially salmon. Bees were carefully and extensively cultivated, and a large portion of the Brehon Laws is devoted to regulating this article of commerce.

From the earliest period, Ireland was richly wooded; hence the Annals were full of records of 'plain clearings,' as one of the first and most important occupations of each new tribe of immigrants. It was always an Emerald Isle, in verdure and fertility, and the comparatively recent bog deposits have preserved abundant remains of its ancient flora. Hazel, oak, yew, and pine, of gigantic growth, have been found beneath the deepest beds of this desiccative substance, now denominated turf, and composed of mosses, heath, and grasses, compressed into solid form. Three species of pine have been discovered, and the Annals mention hazel nuts, acorns, beech nuts, and crab-apples in their list of edibles.

SECOND, OR IRISH PENTARCHY PERIOD.

FROM A.D. 428 TO A.D. 795.



PRINCIPAL EVENTS.

THE REIGN OF KING LAEGHAIRÉ — THE FIRST CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO IRELAND — THE CAPTIVITY AND MISSION OF ST. PATRICK — THE FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND BY THE DALARADIANS — THE CONVERSION OF CONTINENTAL NATIONS BY IRISH MISSIONARIES — THE FOUNDATION OF NUMEROUS COLLEGES AND MONASTIC SCHOOLS IN IRELAND — THE THREE ORDERS OF IRISH SAINTS — THE MISSIONS OF ST. COLUMBA IN SCOTLAND, AND OF ST. COLUMBANUS ON THE CONTINENT.



CHAPTER IV.

THE IRISH PENTARCHY.

A.D. 428 to A.D. 458.

SYNCHRONOUS EVENTS: Valentinian III., Emperor of the West—Theodosius the Great, Emperor of the East—Pharamond, King of the Franks—Britain abandoned by the Romans—Invasion of the Saxons—Spain under the Vandals—General Council of Ephesus—St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo—Pontificate of St. Celestine.

SECTION I.

The reign of King Laeghairé and the Mission of Palladius.

NIAL of the Nine Hostages had fourteen sons, eight of whom left issue. The eldest, Laeghairé, succeeded his uncle Dathi as Ard-Righ, or chief monarch of Ireland. His descendants had the tribe name of Hy-Niall; but the families of his twin sons Eoghan and Conall Gulban are distinguished as the northern Hy-Niall. Another son, Conall Crivan, is the progenitor of the southern Hy-Nialls. This branch of the family, however, never attained the same importance as the northern sept.

In the second year of Laeghairé the Four Masters have the following record: 'In this year Pope Celestinus the First sent Palladius to Ireland, to propagate the faith among the Irish; and he landed in the county of Leinster with a company of twelve men. Dathi, son of Garchu, refused to admit him; but he baptized a few persons in Ireland, and three wooden churches were erected by him, namely, Cell-Fine, Teach-na-Romhan, and Domhnach-Arta. At Cell-Fine he left his books, and a shrine, with the relics of Paul and Peter and many martyrs besides. Ho

left these four in those churches—Augustinus, Benedictus, Silvester, and Solinus. Palladius, on his returning back to Rome (as he did not receive respect in Ireland), contracted a disease in the country of the Crinthuigh, and died thereof.’

There are many authorities for this brief account of the earliest Christian mission to Ireland, but the principal authority apart from the Irish Annals is the ‘Chronicle’ of Prosper. He thus records this important event: ‘Palladius was consecrated by Pope Celestine, and sent as the first bishop to the Irish believing in Christ.’ The words *ad Scotos in Christum credentes* evidence an opinion that there were some converts already in Ireland. This, doubtless, was the result of occasional intercourse with Britain, where Tertullian informs us that as early as the second century parts of the country not yet visited by the Romans were already subject to Christ.

But little is known of the early history of Palladius. Prosper states that through his intervention Pope Celestine sent Germanus, the world-famous Bishop of Auxerre, in his own place [*vice suâ*] to root out heresy, and to direct the Britons to the Catholic faith, for Agricola, a Pelagian, son of Severianus, a Pelagian bishop, had corrupted the churches of Britain ‘by insinuation of his doctrine.’

The Irish writers, and especially Muircha-Macca-Mac-theni, in the ‘Book of Armagh,’ style him chief deacon of St. Celestine. This was an important position in the Roman Church. The Popes were frequently chosen from the ranks of the Roman deacons, on whom during the vacancy of the see, or the captivity of a pontiff, the administration devolved.

The sites of two of the churches which Palladius erected have been identified. They were situated in the territory of Hy-Garrchon, on the river Inver Dec, in the east of the present county of Wicklow. The site of Cell-Fine is doubtful, but may be the present Dunlavin. Teach-na-Romhan, or the House of the Romans, has been identified as Tigwin, and Domhnach-Arta as Dunard, near Redcross.

The reign of Laeghairé has few events of interest apart from ecclesiastical history. Under the age of Christ,

A.D. 431, the Annals record the ordination of St. Patrick by Pope Celestine, and in the following year they mention his arrival in Ireland, thus: 'The fourth year of Laeghairé. Patrick came to Ireland this year, and proceeded to baptize and bless the Irish—men, women, sons, and daughters, except a few who did not consent to receive faith and baptism from him, as his Life relates.' As the introduction of Christianity into any nation leads to the most important changes socially and politically, a detailed account of St. Patrick's life and mission will be given in a separate section.

In the tenth year of King Laeghairé, the 'writings and old books' of Ireland were collected by the request of St. Patrick, and under the direction of the king, to one place, that they might be carefully examined and revised. The works thus collected are called the *Seanchus* and *Feinechus*, the History and Laws. From these the great law-book called the *Senchus Mor* was compiled. According to the account given in the *Senchus* itself, nine persons were engaged in the compilation: 'Laeghairé, Corc, Dairi, the hardy; Patrick, Benen, Cairnech, the priests; Rossa, Dubhthach, Fergus, with science; these were the nine pillars of the *Senchus Mor*.' The authority for the authorship, with an account of the work, will be given in the section on the Laws of Ancient Ireland.

Laeghairé died a Pagan, after a reign of thirty years. He had attempted to reimpose the Boromean tribute, and for this purpose he engaged in war with the Leinster men. In 453 he gained a victory over them, but in 457 he was defeated and captured at Ath-dara, on the river Barrow. Before his release he was obliged to swear, by the old Pagan oath, that he would not again demand tribute from them. The following year he broke this solemn pledge, and as he was struck dead by lightning, or in some sudden manner, when returning home from battle, the bards attributed his death to the agency of the 'gods,' whose honour he had violated by breaking the oath made 'by the sun and moon.'

SECTION II. *The Irish Pentarchy.*

Before entering on the history of the Roman missions for the conversion of Pagan Ireland, and the wonderful success of St. Patrick, it will be necessary to take a brief glance at the five great divisions or kingdoms of Ireland; their origin, their mode of government, and the principal governing families and clans of each province.

The four provinces into which Ireland is divided at present correspond in some respects with the ancient divisions. The kingdom of Meath, though the smallest, was the most important portion of the ancient pentarchy. The plain of Meath, which includes the greater part of the present counties of Meath and Dublin, was known by the name of Magh Breagh, the great or magnificent plain. Part of this kingdom, at a later period, was called Fingal, from the Danes or Norwegians who planted a colony there, and were denominated by the Irish Fine Gall, or the tribe of foreigners. The plain of Brigra, or the Brigantes, so called from being possessed by the Brigantes, extended northward from Dublin to Drogheda, and thence to Kells, including Tara, Trim, Navan, Athboy, &c. Another great division of ancient Meath was called Tebtha [Teffia]. It comprised the present county Meath, with part of Longford, and the King's County.

The Irish chief monarch, or Ard-Righ, was generally selected from amongst the kings of Meath. From the earliest historical period to the fifth century, the Ard-Righ was chosen occasionally from the descendants of Eber, Eremon, or Ir; but from the fifth century to the eleventh century the O'Neils, of the race of Eremon, held the chief regal power. In 1002, however, Brian Boru, King of Munster, who was of the race of Eber, dethroned Malachy and became monarch of Ireland. The kings of Meath had their chief residence at *Dun-na Sciath*, or the Fortress of the Shields, situated on the banks of Lough Ainnim, now Lough Ennell, near Mullingar.

Murtogh O'Malaghlin was King of Meath at the time of the Norman invasion, and his kingdom was transferred to

Hugh de Lacy by a grant of Henry II. He was the last independent king of Meath. The family has become now almost extinct, though it was one of the five royal Milesian families eligible for the chief sovereignty. The other families were the O'Neils, kings of Ulster; the O'Conors, kings of Connaught; the O'Brians, kings of Munster; and the MacMurragh's, kings of Leinster, now represented by the O'Cavenagh's. Each of these great families have still noble representatives.

In 1172 Hugh de Lacy was appointed Lord Palatine by Henry II., and dispossessed all these princes as far as he could, to distribute the land amongst his followers. The following are the names of a few of the principal Anglo-Norman settlers: The Plunketts, who became Earls of Fingal; the Gormanstons; the Barons of Trimblestown; the Bellews, the Davies, the Cusacks, and the Darceys.

The kingdom of Munster is said to have derived its name from a pagan Irish king, whose existence even is doubtful. Ancient Munster comprised the present counties of Tipperary, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and part of Kilkenny. It was divided into *Tuadh Mumhan*, anglicised Thomond; *Des Mumhan*, anglicised Desmond; *Oirmhumha*, anglicised Ormond; and West Munster, known as *Iar Mumhain*. These districts should be carefully remembered, and noted, as they will be frequently mentioned at a later period. Munster, it is said, was governed by the Milesians of the race of Eber; and from this race many Ard-Righs were elected. In early times the descendants of Ith, son of Breogan, and uncle of Milesius, possessed considerable portions of this territory.

The ancient kingdom of Luighen, now Leinster, comprised the present counties of Wexford, Wicklow, Carlow, and Queen's County, with part of Kilkenny, King's County, Kildare, and that part of the county Dublin south of the river Liffey. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the old kingdom of Meath was added to Leinster, with the county of Louth, which until then formed a part of the kingdom of Ulster.

The MacMurrroughs were kings of Leinster previous to the English invasion, and maintained their independence

for several centuries. They were represented by the O'Cavanaghs at a later period. The O'Tooles were the most important of the Leinster chieftains.

The principal Anglo-Norman settlers in Leinster were the Talbots, Butlers, Keatings, Esmondcs, Howards, Eustaces, &c. Some of the most important families settled in this part of Ireland partly because it was nearest to the English coast, and partly because, for the same reason, it was the most easily subdued.

The kingdom of Uladh, or Ulster, comprised the counties of Louth, Monaghan, Armagh, Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Derry, Donegal, and Fermanagh. The county Cavan, which was part of Brefney, belonged to Connaught, but was afterwards added to Ulster. The county Louth, which was part of ancient Ulster, was added to Leinster. The divisions of this province are frequently mentioned in Irish history, and should be carefully remembered.

Tir Eogain comprised the present counties of Tyrone and Derry, with part of Donegal. The kings of Ulster resided at the celebrated fortress of Grinan, situated on a hill of the same name. The ruins indicate a structure of great extent and Cyclopean architecture. Tir Eogain obtained its name from Owen, son of Nial, of the Nine Hostages, and was anglicised into Tyrone.

The name of Meath, originally applied to the whole province of Ulster, was at a later period confined to a large territory comprising the present county Down and part of Antrim. This district was also called Dalariada, from *dal*, a part or portion, and *Ariada*, a king of Ulster in the third century. The chief clans were: the Dunlevys, heads of the famous military race of the Redbranch Knights; the MacGuires; the O'Flynnns; and the MacGowans. In the fourteenth century Hugh Boy O'Neil took possession of the northern part of Dalariada, and from him it obtained the name of Claneboy.

The chief Norman settlers here were: John de Courcy; the De Lacys, who expelled him, as he had expelled the native princes; and the De Burgos now took the name of Burke, and became earls of Ulster.

The territory of Dalariada was divided into two large

districts—the Glynns, so called from its having several large glens, and the Reuta. The MacDonalds of this district were created earls of Antrim.

The kingdom of Connaught, in Irish *Conacht*, comprised the present counties of Galway, Mayo, Sligo, Roscommon, Leitrim, and Cavan; the latter county was added in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The principal district was *Ui Fiachrach*, called after a celebrated warrior named Fiachra, who died A.D. 402 of wounds received in battle. He was the father of Dathi, who was killed by lightning on the Alps. Amalgaidh, another son of Fiachra, was king of Connaught; and the territory of Tirawley, in Mayo, obtained its name from him.

CHAPTER V.

THE MISSION OF ST. PATRICK, AND THE INTRODUCTION
OF CHRISTIANITY INTO IRELAND.

St. Patrick's Missionary Labours.

THE sixth century was an age of missionary enterprise. The rapid extension of the Roman conquests for several centuries after the birth of Christ was a providential means for facilitating the conversion of many nations. England, Gaul, and many parts of Germany were thus gradually civilised and enlightened; and missionaries were soon found amongst the new converts as zealous in spreading the knowledge of the true Faith as their teachers had been in imparting that knowledge. The principal events in the life of the apostle of Ireland are recorded in well-authenticated and ancient documents. But some minor, and, for the present work, unimportant details are, and must always remain, undecided. The birthplace of the saint is included in this category, and has been contended for by several nationalities. The more probable opinion, and that which at present prevails, is that he was born in the neighbourhood of Boulogne. In his 'Confession,' a work still preserved, he says that his family had a farm near the town of *Bonaven Taberniæ*, and that he was made captive there. The identification of this place is a question for archæologists. St. Patrick was made captive in his sixteenth year, and when brought to Ireland was sold as a slave to a northern chieftain named Milcho, whose possessions were in that part of Dalriada now comprised in the present county Antrim.

St. Patrick's father was a deacon, who had resigned the office of a decurio to devote himself to missionary work. His mother, Conchessa, was either a sister or niece of the famous St. Martin of Tours. The earliest biography of the saint was written by his disciple Fiacc, who had been a pupil of the bard Dubtach, and who was converted and ordained bishop by St. Patrick. Hence there is both early and authentic material for the life of the saint.

St. Patrick has himself recorded the harshness of his captivity, and the cruelty of his masters, who kept him day and night exposed to the severity of the weather, feeding sheep and swine upon the mountains. The careful religious education which he had received in his father's house proved at once his safeguard and his consolation. A hundred times in the day, and a hundred times in the night, he informs us, he prayed to the God of the captive and the slave, and after six years' bondage he was delivered. While watching in the night he heard a voice which commanded him to hasten to a certain port, where he would find a ship ready to take him to his own country. He thus describes his escape: 'And I came in the power of the Lord, who directed my course towards a good end; and I was under no apprehension until I arrived where the ship was. It was then clearing out, and I called for a passage. But the master of the vessel got angry, and said to me, "Do not attempt to come with us." On hearing this I retired, for the purpose of going to the cabin where I had been received as a guest. And, on my way thither, I began to pray; but before I had finished my prayer, I heard one of the men crying out with a loud voice after me, "Come, quickly; for they are calling you," and immediately I returned. And they said to me, "Come, we receive thee on trust. Be our friend, just as it may be agreeable to you." We then set sail, and after three days reached land.' The two breviaries of Rheims and Fiacc's Hymn agree in stating that the men with whom Patrick embarked were merchants from Gaul, and that they landed in a place called Treguir, in Brittany, some distance from his native place. Their charity, however, was amply re-

paid. Travelling through a desert country, they had surely perished with hunger, if the prayers of the saint had not, we are told, obtained them a miraculous supply of food.

It is said that St. Patrick suffered a second captivity, which, however, only lasted sixty days; but of this little is known. After a short residence at the famous monastery of St. Martin, near Tours, founded by his saintly relative, he placed himself (probably in his thirtieth year) under the direction of St. Germain of Auxerre.

It was about this period that he was favoured with the remarkable vision or dream relating to his Irish apostolate. He thus describes it in his 'Confessio':—

'I saw, in a nocturnal vision, a man named Victoricus, coming as if from Ireland, with a large parcel of letters, one of which he handed to me. On reading the beginning of it, I found it contained these words: "The voice of the Irish;" and while reading it I thought I heard, at the same moment, the voice of a multitude of persons near the Wood of Foelut, which is near the western sea; and they cried out, as if with one voice, "*We entreat thee, holy youth, to come and henceforth walk amongst us.*" And I was greatly affected in my heart, and could read no longer; and then I awoke.'

St. Patrick retired to Italy after this vision, and there spent many years. During this period he visited Lerins and other islands in the Mediterranean. Lerins was even then called the *insula beata*, from the number of holy men who dwelt there, or who came thither for instruction. St. Honoratus, the founder of this famous school and monastery, was then living, and many persons of note were assembled there at the time of St. Patrick's visit. Amongst others we find the names of St. Hilary of Arles, St. Lupus of Troyes, and St. Vincent of Lerins.

St. Patrick visited Rome about the year 431, accompanied by a priest named Segetius, who was sent with him by St. Germanus, to vouch for the sanctity of his character, and his fitness for the Irish mission. Pope Celestine received him favourably, and dismissed him with his benediction and approbation. St. Patrick then returned once more to his master, who was residing at Auxerre. From thence

he went into the north of Gaul, and there receiving intelligence of the death of St. Palladius, and the failure of his mission, he was immediately consecrated bishop by the venerable Amato, a prelate of great sanctity, then residing in the neighbourhood of Ebovia. Auxilius, Isserninus, and other disciples of the saint, received holy orders at the same time. They were subsequently promoted to the episcopacy in the land of their adoption.

In the year 432 St. Patrick landed in Ireland. It was the first year of the pontificate of St. Sixtus III., the successor of Celestine; the fourth year of the reign of Lae-ghairé, son of Nial of the Nine Hostages, King of Ireland. It is generally supposed that the saint landed first at a place called Inbher De, believed to be the mouth of the Bray river, in Wicklow. Here he was repulsed by the inhabitants—a circumstance which can be easily accounted for from its proximity to the territory of King Nathi, who had so lately driven away his predecessor, Palladius.

St. Patrick returned to his ship, and sailing towards the north, landed at the little island of Holm Patrick, near Skerries, off the north coast of Dublin. After a brief stay he proceeded still further northward, and finally entering Strangford Lough, landed with his companions in the district of Magh-Inis, in the present barony of Lecale. Having penetrated some distance into the interior, they were encountered by Dichó, the lord of the soil, who, hearing of their embarkation, and supposing them to be pirates, had assembled a formidable body of retainers to expel them from his shores. But it is said that the moment he perceived Patrick, his apprehensions vanished. After some brief converse, Dichó invited the saint and his companions to his house, and soon after received himself the grace of holy baptism. Dichó was St. Patrick's first convert, and the first who erected a Christian church under his direction. The memory of this event is still preserved in the name Saull, the modern contraction of *Sabhall Padruic*, or Patrick's Barn. The saint was especially attached to the scene of his first missionary success, and frequently retired to the monastery which was established there later.

After a brief residence with the new converts, Patrick

set out for the habitation of his old master, Milcho. It is said that when Milcho heard of the approach of his former slave, he became so indignant, that, in a violent fit of passion, he set fire to his house, and perished himself in the flames. The saint returned to Saull, and from thence journeyed by water to the mouth of the Boyne, where he landed at a small port called Colp. Tara was his destination; but on his way thither he stayed a night at the house of a man of property named Seschnan. This man and his whole family were baptized, and one of his sons received the name of Benignus from St. Patrick, on account of the gentleness of his manner.

On Holy Saturday St. Patrick arrived at Slane, where he caused a tent to be erected, and lighted the paschal fire at nightfall, preparatory to the celebration of the Easter festival. The princes and chieftains of Meath were, at the same time, assembled at Tara, where King Laeghairé was holding a great pagan festival. The object of this meeting has been disputed, some authorities saying that it was convoked to celebrate the Beltinne, or fire of Bal or Baal; others, that the king was commemorating his own birthday. On the festival of Beltinne it was forbidden to light any fire until a flame was visible from the top of Tara Hill. Laeghairé was indignant that this regulation should have been infringed; and probably the representation of his druids, regarding the mission of the great apostle, did not tend to allay his wrath. Determined to examine himself into the intention of these bold strangers, he set forth, accompanied by his bards and attendants, to the place where the sacred fire had been kindled, and ordered the apostle to be brought before him, strictly commanding, at the same time, that no respect should be shown to him.

Notwithstanding the king's command, Erc, the son of Dego, rose up to salute him, obtained the grace of conversion, and was subsequently promoted to the episcopate. The result of this interview was the appointment of a public discussion, to take place the next day at Tara, between St. Patrick and the pagan bards.

It was Easter Sunday—a day ever memorable for this event in the annals of Erin. Laeghairé and his court sat

in state to receive the ambassador of the Eternal King. Treacherous preparations had been made, and it was anticipated that Patrick and his companions would scarcely reach Tara alive. The saint was aware of the machinations of his enemies; but life was of no value to him, save as a means of performing the great work assigned him, and the success of that work was in the hand of God. The old writers love to dwell on the meek dignity of the apostle during this day of trial and triumph. He set forth with his companions, from where he had encamped, in solemn procession, singing a hymn of invocation which he had composed, in the Irish tongue, for the occasion, and which is still preserved, and well authenticated. He was clothed, as usual, in white robes; but he wore his mitre, and carried in his hand the Staff of Jesus. Eight priests attended him, robed also in white, and his youthful convert, Benignus, the son of Seschnan.

Thus, great in the arms of meekness and prayer, the Christian hosts faced the array of pagan pomp and pride. Again the monarch had commanded that no honour should be paid to the saint, and again he was disobeyed. His own chief poet and druid, Dubtach, rose up instantly on the entrance of the strangers, and saluted the venerable apostle with affection and respect. The Christian doctrine was then explained by St. Patrick to his wondering audience, and such an impression was made, that although Laeghairé lived and died an obstinate pagan, he nevertheless permitted the saint to preach where and when he would, and to receive all who might come to him for instruction or holy baptism.

On the following day St. Patrick repaired to Tailtén, where the public games were commencing; and there he remained for a week, preaching to an immense concourse of people. Here his life was threatened by Cairbré, a brother of King Laeghairé; but the saint was defended by another of the royal brothers, named Conall Creevan, who was shortly after converted. The church of Donough Patrick, in Meath, was founded by his desire. It is said that all the Irish churches which begin with the name Donough were founded by the saint, the foundation being

always marked out by him on a Sunday, for which Domhnach is the Gaedhlic term.

Having preached for some time in the western part of the territory of Meath, the saint proceeded as far as Magh Slecht, where the great idol of the nation, Ceann [or Crom] Cruach was solemnly worshipped. The legend of its destruction, as given in the oldest annals, is singularly interesting. We give a brief extract from Professor O'Curry's translation: 'When Patrick saw the idol from the water, which is named *Guthard* [loud voice] (*i.e.* he elevated his voice); and when he approached near the idol, he raised his arm to lay the Staff of Jesus on him, and it did not reach him; he bent back from the attempt upon his right side, for it was to the south his face was; and the mark of the staff lies in his left side still, although the staff did not leave Patrick's hand; and the earth swallowed the other twelve idols to their heads; and they are in that condition in commemoration of the miracle. And he called upon all the people *cum rege Laeghuire*; they it was that adored the idol. And all the people saw him (*i.e.* the demon), and they dreaded their dying if Patrick had not sent him to hell.'

After this glorious termination of Easter week, the saint made two other important converts. He set out for Connaught; and when near Rath Cruaghan, met the daughters of King Laeghairé, the princesses Ethnea and Fethlimia, who were coming, in patriarchal fashion, to bathe in a neighbouring well. These ladies were under the tuition of certain druids, or magi; but they willingly listened to the instruction of the saint, and were converted and baptized.

The interview took place at daybreak. The royal sisters heard the distant chant of the priests, who were reciting matins as they walked along; and when they approached and beheld them in their white garments, singing, with books in their hands, it was naturally supposed that they were not beings of earth.

'Who are ye?' they inquired of the saint and his companions. 'Are ye of the sea, the heavens, or the earth?'

St. Patrick explained to them such of the Christian

mysteries as were most necessary at the moment, and spoke of the one only true God.

‘But where,’ they asked, ‘does your God dwell? Is it in the sun or on earth, in mountains or in valleys, in the sea or in rivers?’

Then the apostle told them of his God—the Eternal, the Invisible—and how He had indeed dwelt on earth as man, but only to suffer and die for their salvation. As the maidens listened to his words, their hearts were kindled with heavenly love, and they enquired further what they could do to show their gratitude to this great King. In that same hour they were baptized; and in a short time they consecrated themselves to Him, the story of whose surpassing charity had so moved their young hearts.

After the conversion of the princesses Ethnea and Fethlimia, St. Patrick traversed almost every part of Connaught, and is said to have proved his mission by the exercise of miraculous powers.

The saint's greatest success was in the land of Tirawley, near the town of Foclut, from whence he had heard the voice of the Irish even in his native land. As he approached this district, he learned that the seven sons of King Amalgaidh were celebrating a great festival. Their father had but lately died, and it was said these youths exceeded all the princes of the land in martial courage and skill in combat. St. Patrick advanced in solemn procession even into the very midst of the assembly, and for his reward obtained the conversion of the seven princes and twelve thousand of their followers. It is said that his life was at this period in some danger, but that Endeus, one of the converted princes, and his son Conall, protected him. After seven years spent in Connaught, he passed into Ulster; there many received the grace of holy baptism, especially in that district now comprised in the county Monaghan.

It was probably about this time that the saint returned to Meath, and appointed his nephew, St. Secundinus or Sechnal, who was bishop of the place already mentioned as Domhnach Sechnail, to preside over the northern churches during his own absence in the southern part of Ireland.

The saint then visited those parts of Leinster which

had been already evangelised by Palladius, and laid the foundation of many new churches. He placed one of his companions, bishop Auxilius, at Killossy, near Naas, and another, Isserninus, at Kilcullen, both in the present county of Kildare. At Leix, in the Queen's County, he obtained a great many disciples, and from thence he proceeded to visit his friend, the poet Dubtach, who, it will be remembered, paid him special honour at Tara, despite the royal prohibition to the contrary. Dubtach lived in that part of the country called Hy-Kinsallagh, now the county Carlow. It was here the poet Fiacc was first introduced to the saint, whom he afterwards so faithfully followed. Fiacc had been a disciple of Dubtach, and was by profession a bard, and a member of an illustrious house. He was the first Leinster man raised to episcopal dignity. It was probably at this period that St. Patrick visited Munster, and the touching incident already related occurred at the baptism of Aengus. This prince was singularly devout, as indeed his conduct during the administration of the sacrament of regeneration could not fail to indicate.

The saint's mission in Munster was eminently successful. Lonan, the chief of the district of Ormonde, entertained him with great hospitality, and thousands embraced the faith. Many of the inhabitants of Corca Baisein crossed the Shannon in their hide-covered boats (*curaghs*) when the saint was on the southern side, in Hy-Figeinte, and were baptized by him in the waters of their magnificent river. At their earnest entreaty, St. Patrick ascended a hill which commanded a view of the country of the Dalcassians, and gave his benediction to the whole territory. This hill is called Findine in the ancient lives of the saint; but this name is now obsolete. Local tradition and antiquarian investigation make it probable that the favoured spot is that now called Cnoc Patrick, near Foynes Island.

The saint's next journey was in the direction of Kerry, where he prophesied that 'St. Brendan, of the race of Hua Alta, the great patriarch of monks and star of the western world, would be born, and that his birth would take place some years after his own death.'

The see of Armagh was founded about the year 455,

towards the close of the great apostle's life. The royal palace of Emania, in the immediate neighbourhood, was then the residence of the kings of Ulster. A wealthy chief, by name Daire, gave the saint a portion of land for the erection of his cathedral on an eminence called *Druim-Sailech*, the Hill of Sallows. This high ground is now occupied by the city of Armagh (Ard-Macha). Religious houses for both sexes were established near the church, and soon were filled with ardent and devoted subjects.

The saint's labours were now drawing to a close, and the time of eternal rest was at hand. He retired to his favourite retreat at Saull, and there probably wrote his 'Confession.' It is said that he wished to die in the ecclesiastical metropolis of Ireland, and for this purpose, when he felt his end approaching, desired to be conveyed thither; but even as he was on his journey an angel appeared to him, and desired him to return to Saull. Here he breathed his last, on Wednesday, the 17th of March, in the year of our Lord 465. The holy viaticum and last anointing were administered to him by St. Tussach.

CHAPTER VI.

MILESIAN CHRISTIAN KINGS OF THE PENTARCHY PERIOD.—IRISH SAINTS AND MISSIONARIES.

A.D. 503 to A.D. 778.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS—Death of Clovis—Justinian proclaimed Emperor—Belisarius retakes Rome—Foundation of the Kingdom of Lombardy—Phocas proclaimed Emperor—Chosroes conquers Mesopotamia—Heraclius invades Persia—Mohammed commences his career—Theodosius retires into a Monastery—Leo, Emperor—Charlemagne visits Rome—Commencement of the Age of Chivalry.

SECTION I.

The Milesian Christian Kings who ruled before the Danish Invasion.

AFTER Lughaidh, son of Laeghairé, had governed Ireland for twenty-five years, he was killed at Ashadh-farcha by lightning, A.D. 503. The foundation of the kingdom of Scotland by a colony from Ireland is set down by most chronologists under this date. During the reign of Conaire II., at the close of the second century of the Christian era, a colony was led into Scotland by Carbry Riada, from whom the Dalariadians of both Antrim and Scotland took their name. They held their ground in their new country, notwithstanding the opposition of the Picts, until the commencement of the sixth century. The Picts now made a vigorous effort to expel the intruders, and would have succeeded if the colony had not obtained assistance from Ireland. Loarn, Angus, and Feargus, the sons of Erc, went to the scene of combat with a strong reinforcement of Dalariadians, and Feargus obtained the sovereignty of Scotland.

He is said to have obtained from his cousin, Murkertach, then king of Ireland, the famous Lia Fail, that he might secure the Scottish throne to the Irish race for ever.

St. Brigid, the celebrated abbess of the monastery of Kildare, died during this reign. She was of noble birth, and descended from Conn of the Hundred Battles. But she ennobled her life by charities, incomparably greater than any merely inherited honour. Her fame is chiefly connected with her monastery at Kildare, in Irish, *Cell Dare*, or the Church of the Oak. She traversed the whole country at different periods, and everywhere left monuments of her humility and zeal. St. Brigid died, at an advanced age, on February 1, 525. She was revered in Scotland as well as in Ireland; and the western isles, *Hy Brides*, are said to have their name from her.

In the year 543 Ireland was desolated by one of those mysterious pestilences which defy all calculation as to their cause. This plague is called by Irish writers the *Blefed*, or the *Crom Chonaill*; the latter term indicates a sickness which produced a yellow colour in the skin. It originated in the East; and in Ireland was preceded by famine, and followed by leprosy.

Diarmaid, son of Fergus, head of the southern Hy-Nial race, was Ard Righ during this period. He reigned for twenty years, and is much praised by the annalists for his integrity. Domestic dissensions, the curse of Ireland from her earliest existence to the present time, were not suspended even during this fearful visitation. Diarmaid was at war with Guaire, king of Connaught, according to one account to chastise an act of injustice, according to another to enforce payment of a tribute. The cause probably mattered little, for a *casus belli* was seldom wanted in those ages.

Diarmaid was the last Ard Righ who resided at Tara; and the last convention of the Irish Pentarchy was held there by him A.D. 554. Soon after, St. Rodanus of Lothra, in Tipperary, pronounced a solemn malediction on the place, in punishment for violation of the saint's sanctuary by the king. The royal hill was deserted; no monarch dared to reside there; and so complete was the desola-

tion, that in 975 it is described as a desert grown over with weeds. Enough, however, still remains to give ample evidence of its former greatness and extent. From this period, the Ard Rights of Ireland resided in different places. The monarchs of the northern Hy-Nial race lived at the ancient fortress of Aileach, near Derry. The monarchs of the southern Hy-Nials lived at one time at the Rath, near Castlepollard, and subsequently at *Dun-na-Sciath*, near Mullingar.

The latter part of Diarmaid's reign was disturbed by dissensions with St. Columba, the great apostle of the Picts. St. Columba's father, Fedhlime, was a grandson of Conall Gulban, son of Nial of the Nine Hostages. His mother, Erca, was descended directly from Loarn, one of the founders of the Dalariadic colony in Scotland. Hence the saint was necessarily connected with many of the political disturbances of the times.

The immediate subject of dispute was a book and the right of sanctuary. In that age the subjects were of considerable importance. A book was considered of almost as much value as one of the many petty kingdoms into which the country was divided; the right of sanctuary, apart from all religious considerations, was one of the greatest social blessings of an age of frequent violence and injustice.

St. Columba had borrowed a book from St. Finnen, and had copied some portions of the Sacred Scriptures from it, without his friend's permission. A discussion arose upon the merits of the case, and Diarmaid was chosen arbitrator. He decided against Columba, and even required that he should give up the copy which he had made, assigning as a ground for his unjust judgment the Irish proverb, that 'the calf should follow the cow,' and so the copy should follow the book.

The breach was still further widened by a violation of sanctuary. The young son of the King of Connaught killed the son of Diarmaid's steward accidentally, while engaged in a game of hurling at Tara. This was precisely one of the cases for which sanctuary was provided, and in which its privileges should have been deemed most sacred. Diarmaid commanded the unfortunate youth to be put to death,

and he was torn from the very arms of St. Columba, and executed without mercy. Columba threatened the king with vengeance from his powerful race, and Diarmaid placed a guard over him to prevent his escape. But, according to the Annals, 'the justice of God threw a veil of unrecognition' around him, and he escaped. As he traversed the lonely plains between Tara and his native Tyrconnell, he composed and chanted one of the most noble and sublime canticles on record, which commences thus:—

Alone am I upon the mountain,
O King of Heaven, prosper my way;
And then nothing need I fear,
More than if guarded by six thousand men.

The outrage on sanctuary was amply chastised by Columba's kindred. Aedh, king of Connaught, and father of the unfortunate youth, was joined by the Hy-Nials, and the Cinel Owen, and Cinel Conaill, St. Columba's relatives. A fierce battle was fought at Cuildevné, near Sligo, A.D. 561, where Diarmaid and his clans were defeated.

The copy of the Psalms, which was the original cause of dispute, still exists. It consists of fifty-eight leaves of fine vellum, written in a small uniform hand, with some slight attempt at illumination. The caligraphy indicates a work completed in considerable haste.

The first great convention of the Irish states, after the abandonment of Tara, was held at Drumceat, A.D. 573, in the reign of Hugh, son of Ainmire. St. Columba and the leading members of the Irish clergy attended. Precedence was given to the saint by the prelates of North Britain, to honour his capacity of apostle or founder of the Church in that country.

Two important subjects were discussed on this occasion, and on each the opinion of St. Columba was accepted as definitive. The first referred to the long-vexed question whether the Scottish colony of Alba should still be considered dependent on the mother country. The saint, foreseeing the annoyances to which a continuance of this dependence must give rise, advised that it should be henceforth respected as an independent state. The second

question was one of less importance in the abstract, but far more difficult to settle satisfactorily. The bards, or more probably persons who wished to enjoy their immunities and privileges without submitting to the ancient laws which obliged them to undergo a long and severe course of study before becoming licentiates, if we may use the expression, of that honourable calling, had become so numerous and troublesome that loud demands were made for their entire suppression. The king, who probably suffered from their insolence as much as any of his subjects, was inclined to comply with the popular wish, but yielded so far to the representations of St. Columba as merely to diminish their numbers, and place them under stricter rules.

Hugh Ainmire was killed while endeavouring to exact the Boromean Tribute. The place of his death was called Dunbolg, or the Fort of the Bags. The Leinster king, Bran Dubh, had recourse to a stratagem, from whence the name was derived. Finding himself unable to cope with the powerful army of his opponent, he entered his camp disguised as a leper, and spread a report that the Leinster men were preparing to submit.

In the evening a number of bullocks, laden with leathern bags, were seen approaching the royal camp. The drivers, when challenged by the sentinels, said that they were bringing provisions; and this so tallied with the leper's tale that they were permitted to deposit their burdens without further enquiry. In the night, however, an armed man sprang from each bag, and headed by their king, whose disguise was no longer needed, slaughtered the royal army without mercy, Hugh himself falling a victim to the personal bravery of Bran Dubh.

The northern and southern Hy-Nials had long held rule in Ireland; but while the northern tribe were ever distinguished, not only for their valour, but for their chivalry in field or court, the southern race fell daily lower in the estimation of their countrymen. Their disgrace was completed when two kings, who ruled Erin jointly, were treacherously slain by Conall Guthvin. For this crime the family were excluded from regal honours for several generations.

In 623 Congal Caech, king of Ulster, assassinated the reigning sovereign, Sweeney Men, while he was playing chess on the green before his royal residence. He was vanquished in battle the following year by Sweeney's successor, and obliged to fly from the country into Britain, where he remained nine years. During his exile he contrived to ingratiate himself with Saxons and Britons, Picts and Scots, and to prepare for a hostile invasion of Ireland. He returned to his native land in 634, and encountered the forces of the Ard Righ, at Magh Rath, now Moira, in the county Down, where he was slain, and his foreign and native auxiliaries were completely routed. This engagement is one of considerable note in the early annals of Ireland.

In the year 656 Ireland was again visited by the fatal *Crom Chonaill*. Many orphans were of necessity thrown on the mercy of those to whom charity was their only claim. Nor was the call unheeded. The venerable bishop of Ardraccan, St. Ultan, whom we may perhaps term the St. Vincent of Ireland, gathered these hapless little ones into a safe asylum, and there, with a thoughtfulness which in such an age could scarcely have been expected, sought to supply by artificial means the natural nourishment of which they had been deprived.

Bede, mentioning this pestilence, gives honourable testimony to the charity of the Irish, not only to their own people, but even to strangers. He says: 'This pestilence did no less harm in the island of Ireland. Many of the nobility and of the lower ranks of the English nation were there at that time, who, in the days of bishop Finan and Colman, forsaking their native land, retired thither, either for the sake of divine studies, or for a more continent life. The Scots willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read and their teaching gratis.'

In 673 Finnachta Fleadhach, or the Hospitable, began his reign. He yielded to the entreaties of St. Moling, and remitted the Boromean Tribute, after he had forced it from the Leinster men in a bloody battle. In 687 he abdicated, and embraced the monastic state. In 684 the Irish coasts

were devastated, and even the churches pillaged, by the soldiers of Egfrid, the Saxon King of Northumbria. Bede attributes his subsequent defeat and death, when fighting against the Picts, to the judgment of God. St. Adamnan was sent to Northumbria, after the death of this prince, to obtain the release of the captives. His mission was successful, and he was honoured there as the worker of many miracles.

The generosity of Finnachta failed to settle the vexed question of tribute. Comgal, who died in 708, ravaged Leinster as fiercely as his predecessors, and Fearghal, his successor, invaded it 'five times in one year.' Three wonderful showers are said to have fallen in the eighth year of his reign (A.D. 716 according to the Four Masters)—a shower of silver, a shower of honey, and a shower of blood. These were, of course, considered portents of the awful Danish invasions. Fearghal was killed at the battle of Almhain (Allen, near Kildare), in 718. In this engagement, the Leinster men numbered only nine thousand, while their opponents numbered twenty-one thousand. The Leinster men, however, made up for numbers by their valour; and it is said that the intervention of a hermit, who reproached Fearghal with breaking the pacific promise of his predecessor, contributed to the defeat of the northern forces. Another battle took place in 733, when Hugh Allan, king of Ireland, and Hugh, son of Colgan, king of Leinster, engaged in single combat. The latter was slain, and the Leinster men 'were killed, slaughtered, cut off, and dreadfully exterminated.' In fact, the Leinster men endured so many 'dreadful exterminations,' that one almost marvels how any of their brave fellows were left for future feats of arms. The 'northerns were joyous after this victory, for they had wreaked their vengeance and their animosity upon the Leinster men,' nine thousand of whom were slain. St. Samhthann, a holy nun, who died in the following year, is said to have predicted the fate of Aedh, Comgal's son, if the two Aedhs (Hughs) met. Aedh Allan commemorated her virtues in verse, and concludes thus:—

In the bosom of the Lord, with a pure death, Samhthann passed from her sufferings.

Indeed, the Irish kings of this period manifested their admiration of peaceful living, and their desire for holy deaths, in a more practical way than by poetic encomiums on others. In 704 Beg Boirche 'took a pilgrim's staff, and died on his pilgrimage.' In 729 Flahertach renounced his regal honours, and retired to Armagh, where he died. In 758 Donal died on a pilgrimage at Iona, after a reign of twenty years; and in 765 his successor, Nial Frassagh, abdicated the throne, and became a monk at Iona. Here he died in 778, and was buried in the tomb of the Irish kings in that island.

An Irish poet, who died in 742, is said to have played a clever trick on the 'foreigners' of Dublin. He composed a poem for them, and then requested payment for his literary labours. The *Galls*, who were probably Saxons, refused to meet his demand, but Rumrann said he would be content with two *pinguins* (pennies) from every good man, and one from each bad one. The result may be anticipated. Rumrann is described as 'an adept in wisdom, chronology, and poetry;' we might perhaps add, and in knowledge of human nature. In the 'Book of Ballymote' he is called the Virgil of Ireland. A considerable number of Saxons were now in the country; and it is said that a British king, named Constantine, who had become a monk, was at that time Abbot of Rahen, in the King's County, and that at Cell-Belaigh there were seven streets of those foreigners. Gallen, in the King's County, was called Galin of the Britons, and Mayo was called Mayo of the Saxons, from the number of monasteries therein, founded by members of these nations.

The entries during the long reign of Domhnall contain little save obituaries of abbots and saints. The first year of the reign of Nial Frassagh is, like the eighth of Fearghal, distinguished by a triple shower—of silver, of wheat, and of honey. The Annals of Clonmacnois say that there was a most severe famine throughout the whole kingdom during the early part of his reign, so much that the king himself had very little to live upon. Then the king prayed very fervently to God, being in company with seven holy bishops; and he asked that he might die rather than see

so many of his faithful subjects perishing, while he was helpless to relieve them. At the conclusion of his prayer, the 'three showers' fell from heaven; and then the king and the seven bishops gave great thanks to the Lord.

But a more terrible calamity than famine was even then impending, and, if we may believe the old chroniclers, not without marvellous prognostications of its approach. In the year 767 there occurred a most fearful storm of thunder and lightning, with 'terrific and horrible signs.' It would appear that the storm took place while a fair was going on, which obtained the name of the 'Fair of the clapping of hands.' 'Fear and horror seized the men of Ireland, so that their religious seniors ordered them to make two fasts, together with fervent prayer, and one meal between them, to protect and save them from a pestilence, precisely at Michaelmas.' Another fearful thunderstorm is recorded in the Annals for 799. This happened on the eve of St. Patrick's Day. It is said that a thousand and ten persons were killed on the coast of Clare. The island of Fitha (now Mutton Island) was partly submerged, and divided into three parts. There was also a storm in 783—'thunder, lightning, and wind-storms'—by which the monastery of Clonbroney was destroyed.

SECTION II.

The Saints and Missionaries of the Fifth and Sixth Centuries.

The researches of philologists are daily confirming the statements of hagiographers as to the extent and importance of the missionary zeal of the Irish monks during the fifth and sixth centuries. Their literary attainments are evinced by the number of manuscripts which they have left, and the exquisite skill in illumination which these manuscripts display. Their devotion to their great end of evangelising the heathen is recorded by their biographers, and proved by the reverence still offered to their memory in foreign countries.

These Irish saints have been divided into three orders, in an old catalogue published by Usher. The first order were the immediate contemporaries of St. Patrick, and are de-

scribed as if enveloped in flame, so great was their purity and zeal. The second order, of which St. Columba of the Celts is the head, were the successors of St. Patrick, and they were described as mountains on fire. The third order are compared to bright lamps glimmering in the valley.

There can be no reasonable doubt as to the complete national conversion of Ireland by St. Patrick, though for several centuries some pagans remained, and much paganism continued in national customs and modes of expression, always difficult to eradicate. The Christian missionaries adopted the prudent course of attracting rather than compelling. Thus, where pagans had erected an altar to a false god, they led them gradually to the service of 'Him whom they ignorantly worshipped,' and then taught them to build a temple in His honour. Pagan customs were absolutely forbidden when absolutely sinful, but where it was possible to turn the current of devotion to its true source, it was thus turned, and not rudely stopped. Thus in Ireland the pagan custom of invoking the gods or making some aspirations to avert their wrath on certain occasions, was at once and easily Christianised by introducing the use of Christian aspirations instead of pagan.

St. Kieran of Saighir is called by his biographer 'the first-born of the Saints of Ireland.' His church at Cape Clear is said to have been the earliest Christian church erected in Ireland; its ruins still remain. He afterwards established the monastery of Seir-Kieran in the King's County. This saint is supposed to have ended his life in Cornwall, and to be identical with St. Piran, whose little church at Piranzabuloe is well known.

Another St. Kieran founded the magnificent church and monastery of Clonmacnois on the Shannon, A.D. 548. The ruins of this religious establishment still remain, and amply attest its former greatness. Kings, saints, and scholars lived and died within its peaceful walls, where their burial-places may still be identified. The southern Hy-Nial princes were usually interred in the cemetery of Clonmacnois, where also may be seen the tomb of one of the three learned Irishmen who visited King Alfred in the year 891,

and is said to have assisted at the foundation of the university of Oxford.

St. Finnain of Clonard belonged to the second order of saints. He established his celebrated school A.D. 530, where St. Columba the missionary of the Picts was educated. Aran of the saints, as the western islands off Galway Bay were then termed, was peopled by monks and recluses from the fifth to the seventh centuries. St. Enda, son of the prince of Orgiall, who had distinguished himself as a warrior, renounced the battle-axe for the cowl, and established himself in one of the largest of the three islands. In 580 he travelled to Rome, and returned accompanied by one hundred and fifty monks, all of whom lived and died in his monastery. Intercourse with Rome was frequent even at that early period, and Ireland attracted continental monks, no doubt by the learning and sanctity of those who visited the tombs of the apostles, and the greater centre of Catholic unity. A tomb still remains at Kilbreacan in the north part of Cavan, inscribed to the memory of the 'seven Romans.' In the litany of St. Aengus hundreds of foreign saints are invoked, each grouped according to their nationality. 'The oldest tract, or collection of the pedigrees of the saints of Erin,' says Professor O'Curry, 'of which we have now any recognisable copy remaining, is that which is ascribed to Aengus Ceilé Dé, commonly called Aengus the Culdee. The genuineness of this composition is admitted by all writers of modern times, Protestant and Catholic, by Usher and Ware, as well as by Colgan.'

Aengus wrote about the year 798. He was descended from the illustrious chieftains of Dalariada, and completed his education in the monastery of Cluain Eidhneach, in the present Queen's County. The remains of a church he founded at Disert Aengusa, near Ballingarry, in the county of Limerick, may still be seen.

The well-known monastic establishment at Glendalough, in the county Wicklow, was founded by St. Kieran, who died in 618. One of the most noticeable and best-known saints of this period was St. Brendan, whose voyage across the Atlantic in search of the mysterious island of Hy-Brasail

became one of the most favourite subjects of mediæval romances and poets. His early youth was passed under the care of St. Ita, a lady of the princely family of the Desii. By divine command she established the convent of *Cluain Credhuil*, in the present county of Limerick, and there, it would appear, she devoted herself specially to the care of youth. When Brendan had attained his fifth year, he was placed under the protection of bishop Ercus, from whom he received such instruction as befitted his advancing years. But Brendan's tenderest affection clung to the gentle nurse of his infancy; and to her, in after years, he frequently returned, to give or receive counsel and sympathy.

The legend of his western voyage, if not the most important, is at least the most interesting part of his history. Kerry was the native home of the enterprising saint; and as he stood on its bold and beautiful shores, his naturally contemplative mind was led to enquire what boundaries chained that vast ocean, whose grand waters rolled in mighty waves beneath his feet. His thoughtful piety suggested that where there might be a country, there might be life—human life and human souls dying day by day, and hour by hour, and knowing of no other existence than that which at best is full of sadness and decay.

Traditions of a far-away land had long existed on the western coast of ancient Erin. The brave Tuatha Dé Dananns were singularly expert in naval affairs, and their descendants were by no means unwilling to impart information to the saint.

The venerable St. Enda, the first abbot of Arran, was then living, and thither St. Brendan journeyed for counsel. Probably he was encouraged in his design by the holy abbot; for he proceeded along the coast of Mayo, enquiring as he went for traditions of the western continent. On his return to Kerry, he decided to set out on the important expedition. St. Brendan's Hill still bears his name; and from the bay at the foot of this lofty eminence he sailed for the 'far west.' Directing his course towards the south-west, with a few faithful companions, in a well-provisioned bark, he came, it is said, after some rough and dangerous navigation, to calm seas, where, without aid of oar or sail, he

was borne along for many weeks. It is thought that he had entered the great Gulf Stream, which brought his vessel ashore somewhere on the Virginian coasts. He landed with his companions, and penetrated into the interior, until he came to a large river flowing from east to west, supposed to be that now known as the Ohio. Here, according to the legend, he was accosted by a man of venerable bearing, who told him that he had gone far enough; that further discoveries were reserved for other men, who would in due time come and Christianise that pleasant land.

After an absence of seven years, the saint returned once more to Ireland, and lived not only to tell of the marvels he had seen, but even to found a college of three thousand monks at Clonfert. This voyage took place in the year 545, according to Colgan; but as St. Brendan must have been at that time at least sixty years old, an earlier date has been suggested.¹

St. Columba, or Columcille—that is, Columba of the cells or churches—has already been mentioned in connection with the political history of the period. The most beautiful manuscript of western Europe, known as the ‘Book of Kells,’ and now preserved in the Library of Trinity Col-

¹ The legend of St. Brendan was widely diffused in the Middle Ages. In the *Bibliothèque Impériale*, at Paris, there are no less than eleven manuscripts of the original Latin legend, the dates of which vary from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. In the old French and Romance dialects there are abundant copies in most public libraries in France; while versions in Irish, Dutch, German, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese abound in all parts of the Continent. Traces of ante-Columbian voyages to America are continually cropping up. But the appearance, in 1837, of the *Antiquitates Americanæ sive ita Scriptores Septentrionales rerum ante-Columbiarum*, in America, edited by Professor Rafu, at Copenhagen, has given final and conclusive evidence on this interesting subject. Even in 1833 a Japanese junk was wrecked upon the coast of Oregon. Humboldt believes that the Canary Isles were known, not only to the Phœnicians, but ‘perhaps even to the Etruscans.’ There is a map in the library of St. Mark, at Venice, made in the year 1436, where an island is delineated and named Antillia. (See *Trans. R. I. A.*, vol. xiv.) A distinguished modern poet of Ireland, Denis Florence MacCarthy, Esq., M.K.I.A., has made the voyage of St. Brendan the subject of one of the most beautiful of his poems.

lege, Dublin, is ascribed to him. The 'Book of Durrow,' another Irish manuscript of great antiquity, is also believed to be one of his productions.

St. Columba died at Iona, on the 9th of June, 597. His biography has been written in detail by his successor, St. Adamnan.

The first of Irish missionary labourers on the Continent was another saint of similar name. St. Columbanus was born about the year 539. The care of his education was confided to the venerable Senile, who was eminent for his sanctity and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. It was probably through his influence that the young man resolved to devote himself to the monastic life. For this purpose he placed himself under the direction of St. Comgall, who then governed the great monastery of Banchorr (Bangor).

It was not until he entered his fiftieth year that he decided on quitting his native land, so that there can be no reason to doubt that his high intellectual attainments were acquired and perfected in Ireland.

With the blessing of his superior, and the companionship of twelve faithful monks, he set forth on his arduous mission; and arduous truly it proved to be. The half-barbarous Franks, then ruled by Thierry or Theodoric, lived more a pagan than a Christian life, and could ill brook the stern lessons of morality which they heard from, and saw practised by, their new teacher. The saint did not spare the demoralised court, and the Queen-Dowager Brunehalt became his bitterest foe. He had already established two monasteries: one at Luxovium, or Luxeuil, in a forest at the foot of the Vosges; the other, on account of its number of springs, was called Ad-fontanas (Fontaines). Here the strict discipline of the Irish monks was rigidly observed, and the coarsest fare the only refectio permitted to the religious.

For a time they were allowed to continue their daily routine of prayer and penance without molestation; but the relentless Brunehalt, who, from the basest motives, had encouraged the young king in every vice, could no longer brave either the silent preaching of the cloister, or the bold denunciations of the saint. As Columbanus found that his

distant remonstrances had no effect on the misguided monarch, for whose eternal welfare he felt the deep interest of true sanctity, he determined to try a personal interview. For a brief space his admonitions were heard with respect, and even the haughty queen seemed less bent on her career of impiety and deceit. But the apparent conversion passed away as a summer breeze, and once more the saint denounced and threatened in vain.

Strict enclosure had been established in the monasteries professing the Columbanian rule; and this afforded a pretext for the royal vengeance. Theodoric attempted to violate the sanctuary in person, but was sternly repelled by the saint. The king withdrew, but eventually Columbanus was torn from the sanctuary by force. His Irish subjects were allowed to accompany him into exile; and after many journeys and privations, he at last settled at Milan, where he was hospitably received by the Lombard king, A.D. 612. On his journey thither he had evangelised Austrasia, then governed by Theodebert. This prince, though a brother of the monarch by whom he had been expelled, entertained him with the utmost courtesy. At Mentz, the bishop vainly endeavoured to detain him. Zeal for the conversion of souls led the saint to desire a less cultivated field of labour. As he passed along the Lake of Zurich, and in the canton of Zug, he reaped a rich harvest; from thence he directed his course to Bregentz, then inhabited by an idolatrous people.

Here he was repulsed by those who most needed his apostolic labours; but, undaunted, he retired to the neighbouring county, where he secured a band of zealous converts. Surrounded by these, and attended by his faithful monks, he once more entered the idolatrous city, and proceeded boldly to the temple where their false gods were enshrined. Here he invoked the Holy Name, and by its power the idols are said to have been miraculously overthrown, and a multitude of the people were converted, including in their number some of the principal inhabitants of Bregentz.

The theological controversy, known as that of the 'Three Chapters,' was now prevalent in northern Italy. A letter

is still extant which St. Columbanus addressed to Pope Boniface on this subject, in which, while he uses the privilege of free discussion on questions not defined by the Church, he is remarkably explicit as to his belief in papal supremacy.

‘For we [Scoti] Irish are disciples of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of all the divinely inspired canonical writers, adhering constantly to the evangelical and apostolical doctrine. Amongst us neither Jew, heretic, nor schismatic can be found; but the Catholic faith, entire and unshaken, precisely as we have received it from you, who are the successors of the holy Apostles. For, as I have already said, we are attached to the chair of St. Peter; and although Rome is great and renowned, yet with us it is great and distinguished only on account of that apostolic chair. Through the two Apostles of Christ you are almost celestial, and Rome is the head of the churches of the world.’

In the year 613 St. Columbanus founded the world-famed monastery of Bovium, or Bobbio, on the Apennines, and an oratory dedicated to the Mother of God. The saint died there on the 21st of November 615, at the age of seventy-two years. His name is still preserved in the town of St. Columbano, and his memory is venerated in France and Italy.

While the saint was evangelising in Switzerland, one of his disciples became seriously ill, and was unable to travel farther. It was a providential sickness for the Helvetians. The monk was an eloquent preacher, and well acquainted with their language, which was a dialect of that of the Franks. He evangelised the country, and the town of St. Gall still bears the name of the holy Irishman, while his abbey contains many valuable relics of the literature and piety of his native land. St. Gall died on the 16th of October 645, at a very advanced age. The monastery was not erected till after his decease, and it was not till the year 1798 that the abbey lands were aggregated to the Swiss Confederation as one of the cantons.

Another Irish saint, who converted multitudes in France, was St. Fiacre. He erected a monastery to the Blessed

Virgin in a forest near Meaux. The fame of his sanctity became so great, and the pilgrimage to his tomb so popular, that the French hackney coaches (*fiacre*) obtained their name from their constant employment in journeys to his shrine.

About the same period, St. Fursey founded a monastery near Burgh Castle, in Suffolk, where he was kindly received by Sigbert, king of the East Angles. From thence he proceeded to Lagny, in France, where his missionary zeal was long remembered. His brothers, St. Foillan and St. Altan, were his constant companions. St. Fursey died on the 16th of January 650, at Macerius. His remains were subsequently translated to Peronne, in Picardy. The evangelic labours of many of his Irish disciples are matter of history in the Gallic Church. It is said that the fame of the Irish for their skill in music was so well known on the Continent at this period, that St. Gertrude, daughter of king Pepin, and abbess of Nivelles, in Brabant, invited the brothers of St. Fursey to instruct her community in sacred music. They complied with her request, and soon after erected a monastery at Fosse, near Nivelles. Nor were the Scoti without their missionary martyrs, amongst whom the great St. Kilian holds a distinguished place. He had sought and obtained permission from the Holy See to evangelise Franconia, and his bold rebuke of the open scandal given by the conduct of the ruling prince was the immediate cause of his martyrdom. He was assassinated at midnight, while singing the Divine Office with two of his faithful companions. Their remains were interred in the church of Wurtzburg, where St. Kilian is still revered as its patron and apostle.

Amongst a host of lesser luminaries we find St. Maildub, from whom Malmsbury has been named; St. Livin, who converted the inhabitants of Flanders and Brabant; St. Cataldus and his brother, St. Donatus, the former patron of the metropolitan see of Tarentum, whose name is still preserved in the little town of *San Cataldo*, the latter bishop of Lecce, in the kingdom of Naples; St. Virgilius, called in the ancient annals 'Ferghil the Geometer,' and by Latin writers Solivagus, or the 'solitary wanderer,' who

died bishop of Saltzburg; St. Fridolin, 'the traveller,' son of an Irish king, who evangelised Thuringia, and was appointed by the pope bishop of Buraburgh, near Fritzlar, in the year 741; St. Sedulius the younger, who wrote commentaries on Holy Scripture, and assisted at a council held in Rome, in the year 721, under Gregory II. It is noticeable that this saint was consecrated bishop of Oretto, in Spain, while in Rome. When he entered on the mission thus confided to him, he wrote a treatise to prove that, being Irish, he was of Spanish descent; thus showing that at this period the idea of a Milesian origin was common to men of learning in Ireland.

Usher observes, that the saints of this period might be grouped into a fourth order. Bede says: 'That many of the Scots [Irish] came daily into Britain, and with great devotion preached the word and administered baptism. . . . The English, great and small, were by their Scottish [Irish] masters instructed in the rules and observances of regular discipline.' Eric of Auxerre writes thus to Charles the Bald: 'What shall I say of Ireland, which, despising the dangers of the deep, is migrating with her whole train of philosophers to our coast?' Rency, after describing the poetry and literature of ancient Erin as perhaps the most cultivated of all Western Europe, adds, that Ireland 'counted a host of saints and learned men, venerated in England and Gaul; for no country had furnished more Christian missionaries.' It is said that three thousand students, collected from all parts of Europe, attended the schools of Armagh; and, indeed, the regulations which were made for preserving scholastic discipline are almost sufficient evidence on this subject.

The discussions of the Irish and English ecclesiastics on the time of keeping Easter, with their subsequent decision, and all details concerning domestic regulations as to succession to office and church lands, are more properly matters for the ecclesiastical historian.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RELIGION, LAWS, ARCHITECTURE, DRESS, AND
SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE FIFTH, SIXTH, AND
SEVENTH CENTURIES.SECTION I. *Ecclesiastical Regulations and Enactments.*

A CONSIDERABLE number of the early converts to Christianity devoted themselves to what is technically called the religious life. Having placed themselves under the guidance of a superior, they employed in active missionary labours or in literary work the time not devoted to the immediate service of God in prayer. The missionary labours of the Irish clergy have been detailed as fully as circumstances would admit; hence it only remains to record their other occupations. One important duty which devolved on the heads of religious houses, who were generally bishops, and which of necessity occupied the episcopacy still more, was the framing of ecclesiastical regulations or canons. Fortunately, some of these canons are still preserved, as well as many of the literary works of the monks.

The earliest canons are referred to the time of St. Patrick, and are found in the 'Book of Armagh,' and in that portion of it which is said to have been copied from an older manuscript written by the saint himself. The authenticity and antiquity of the 'Book of Armagh' have never been questioned. These canons refer specially to the settlement of questions of difficulty which might arise in ecclesiastical administration, and require that all local disputes should be referred to 'the see of the chief bishop of the Irish'—that

is, the see of Armagh. And if cases arose which could not be decided by that see, they should 'be sent to the apostolic see, that is, to the chair of the apostle Peter.' In the synod of Magh-Rene, A.D. 630, St. Cummian, who presided, in his letter on the paschal computation, says: 'In accordance with the canonical decree that if questions of grave moment arise, they shall be referred to the heads of cities, we sent such as we knew were wise and humble men to Rome.' In 700 a collection of canons was also made for the Irish church, wherein the same subject is mentioned, and referred to as a 'decree of St. Patrick.' Patrick defines, should any 'grave controversies arise in this island, they shall be referred to the apostolic see.' Copies of these canons are preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, at Darmstadt, at St. Gall, in Switzerland, and in the Cottonian Codex of the eighth century.

A curious canon in verse is also preserved. The archbishop of Armagh and his clergy had refused to attend Hugh Oirdindhe in one of his military expeditions, as was then usual. The king asked the opinion of his poet and chief adviser, who, according to the custom of the times, recorded his decision in rhyme.

This decision obtained the name of a canon, and henceforth its author was distinguished as *Fothadh na Canoine*, or Fothadh of the Canons.

Besides the valuable collections of synods and canons, there are a number of liturgical treatises, principally referring to the manner of celebrating mass, and to the devotion which should be paid to the Blessed Sacrament. In the well-known Stowe missal, which Dr. Todd observes 'may well be deemed older than the sixth century,' the mass is given in full, and agrees precisely with the present Roman canon down to the memento for the dead. The manuscript also contains a mass for the dead, and several other occasional masses. There are also treatises on church vestments, penitentials, rules of religious orders, and a number of Latin hymns of great beauty, all referable to this early period.

It must not be supposed, however, that the literary labours of the Irish monks, at home and in the continental

monasteries founded by them, were entirely confined to theology. The collection of the Royal Irish Academy contains several works written on vellum, with treatises of history, science, laws, and commerce; which have been pronounced by competent authorities to be written in the purest style that the ancient Gaedhlic language ever attained. There are also a considerable number of translations from Greek, Latin, and other languages. These are of considerable importance, as they enable the critical student of the language to determine the meaning of many obscure or obsolete words or phrases, by reference to the originals; nor are they of less value as indicating the high state of literary culture which prevailed in Ireland during the early Christian and the Middle Ages. Poetry, mythology, history, and the classic literature of Greece and Rome, may be found amongst these translations; so that, as O'Curry well remarks, 'anyone well read in the comparatively few existing fragments of our Gaedhlic literature, and whose education had been confined solely to this source, would find that there are but very few indeed of the great events in the history of the world with which he was not acquainted.' He then mentions, by way of illustration of classical subjects, Celtic versions of the 'Argonautic Expedition,' the 'Siege of Troy,' the 'Life of Alexander the Great;' and of such subjects as cannot be classed under this head, the 'Destruction of Jerusalem;' the 'Wars of Charlemagne,' including the 'History of Roland the Brave;' the 'History of the Lombards,' and the almost contemporary translation of the 'Travels of Marco Polo.'

There is also a large collection of manuscripts in the British Museum, and a few volumes in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, besides the well-known, though inaccessible, Stowe collection.

The Louvain collection, formed chiefly by fathers Hugh Ward, John Colgan, and Michael O'Clery, between the years 1620 and 1640, was widely scattered at the French Revolution. The most valuable portion is in the college of St. Isidore in Rome. The Burgundian Library at Brussels also possesses many of these treasures. A valuable *résumé* of the manuscripts which are preserved there was given by

Mr. Bindon, and printed in the 'Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy' in the year 1847. There are also many Latin manuscripts with Irish glosses, which have been largely used by Zeuss in his 'Grammatica Celtica.' The date of one of these—a codex containing some of Venerable Bede's works—is fixed by an entry of the death of Aed, king of Ireland, in the year 817. This most important work belonged to the Irish monastery of Reichenau, and is now preserved at Carlsruhe. A codex is also preserved at Cambray, which contains a fragment of an Irish sermon, and the canons of an Irish council held A.D. 684.

The extraordinary skill evinced in the art of illuminating might be more properly treated in the section on art. It may, however, be remarked here, as an evidence of the high value set on literature by the Irish monks, that in each monastery certain small rooms or cells, called scriptoria, were set apart for those who required to study or write alone, and who therefore could not use the common scriptorium or large apartment occupied by those monks whose occupations could be carried on together. In the early Christian and Middle Ages estates were often bequeathed to the scriptoria of monasteries by those who knew and practically appreciated the merit of the works executed in them.

Even at this early period we find Irish nuns also devoting themselves to the promotion of literature and education. St. Ita notably is mentioned in this way, and St. Briget appears to have been a woman of considerable intellectual attainments.

SECTION II. *The Brehon Laws.*

Law was administered in Ireland long before the Christian era, and until the seventeenth century, according to a well-established and well-defined code known as the Brehon Laws. These Brehon laws are the decisions of certain distinguished Brehons or judges, whose enactments became law, and were transmitted to posterity orally, in a quasi-metrical form, until the art of writing was known. These laws were carefully collected and written down soon

after the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland, and during the reign of king Laeghairé. A considerable portion of this compilation has been published by Government, with a careful translation. The portion published is called the *Seanchus Mór*. Several copies of the original code were used and compared. One of these copies has a note written in it on Christmas Night, A.D. 1350, by Hugh Mac Egan, who says the book belonged to his father. The Mac Egans of Connaught were hereditary Brehons, and no doubt this copy of the ancient laws had been in their possession for some years, if not for some centuries, previous.

The best Celtic scholars are now agreed that there is no improbability in the statement made in the commencement of the *Seanchus Mór*, that these laws were revised and written down under the special direction of St. Patrick. Nine persons are said to have assisted on the work, or, in the words of the *Seanchus* itself:

‘Nine persons were appointed to arrange this book, viz. Patrick, and Benen, and Cairnech, three bishops; Laeghairé, and Con, and Daire, three kings; Rosa, *i.e.* Mac-Trechim; and Dubhthach, *i.e.* a doctor of the *Bérta Feini*; and Fergus, *i.e.* a poet.

‘*Nofis*, therefore, is the name of this book which they arranged, *i.e.* the knowledge of nine persons, and we have proof of this above.

‘This is the *Cain Patraic*, and no human Brehon of the Gaedlic is able to abrogate anything that is found in the *Seanchus Mór*.’

Benen, or St. Benignus, the disciple of St. Patrick, who succeeded him as bishop of Armagh, probably acted as his secretary. He was the original compiler of the ‘Book of Rights.’ St. Cairnech is still remembered as the patron saint of Dulane in the county Meath. A memoir of his life is preserved in the Cottonian Library, where he is said to have been a Cornishman, and that his works were read in Ireland through the whole country, as the miracles of St. Peter were read at Rome. Laeghairé was then *Ard-Righ* of Ireland. Con was king of Cashel, and is celebrated as a man ‘who practised no evil deeds.’ There were two Daires contemporary with St. Patrick, but the

Daire who assisted in the compilation of the laws was probably the king of Ulster. These laws were written in the *Bérla Feini*, a dialect used for legal purposes.

The *Seanchus Môr* does not give any information as to when the compilation commenced, but the defect is supplied by the *Annals of the Four Masters*, who give this record: 'The age of Christ 438. The tenth year of *Lacghairé*. The *Seanchus* and *Feinchus* of Ireland were purified and written.' There is, however, mention of the place, or, rather, places, where the work was carried on. 'It was at *Teamhair* [*Tara*] in the summer and autumn, on account of its clearness and pleasantness during these seasons; and at *Ruth-guthiard* [probably the fort now called *Lisanawer*] in the winter and spring, on account of its nearness to fire-wood.' The ancient description of these places quite coincides with their present state.

The compilation of the Brehon laws originated in a question that arose as to how the murderer of *Odran*, Patrick's charioteer, should be punished. The saint was allowed to select whatever Brehon he pleased to give judgment. He chose *Dubhthach*; and the result of his decision was the compilation of these laws, as it was at once seen that a purely pagan code would not suit Christian teaching.

The sixth century was a marked period of legal reform. The Emperor Justinian, by closing the schools of Athens, gave a death-blow to Grecian philosophy and jurisprudence. But Grecian influence had already acted on the formation of Roman law, and probably much of the Athenian code was embodied therein. The origin of Roman law is involved in the same obscurity as the origin of the Brehon code. In both cases, the mist of ages lies like a light, but impenetrable veil, over all that could give certainty to conjecture. Before the era of the Twelve Tables, mention is made of laws enacted by *Romulus* respecting what we should now call civil liabilities. Laws concerning religion are ascribed to *Numa*, and laws of contract to *Servius Tullius*, who is supposed to have collected the regulations made by his predecessors. The Twelve Tables are said to have been formed on the legal enactments of Greece. The cruel severity of the law for insolvent debtors forms a marked

contrast to the milder and more equitable arrangements of the Brehon code. By the Roman enactments, the person of the debtor was at the mercy of his creditor, who might sell him for a slave beyond the Tiber. The Celt allowed only the seizure of goods, and even this was under regulations most favourable to the debtor. The legal establishment of Christianity by Constantine, or we should rather say the existence of Christianity, necessitated a complete revision of all ancient laws: hence we find the compilation of the Theodosian code almost synchronising with the revision of the Brehon laws. The spread of Christianity, and the new modes of thought and action which obtained thereby, necessitated the reconstruction of ancient jurisprudence in lands as widely distant geographically, and as entirely separated politically, as Italy and Ireland.

The Salic law was also drawn up about the beginning of the fifth century, and was subsequently revised after the baptism of Clovis, that its enactments might be suitable for a Christian country. It is possible that St. Patrick, who was a Roman citizen, and whose father was a magistrate, was well acquainted with the modifications of the Pagan laws made by Theodosius at Constantinople, and Valentinian at Rome.

The subject-matter of the portions of the Seanchus Mór which have been translated, is the law of distress. Two points are noticeable in this: First, the careful and accurate administration of justice which is indicated by the details of these legal enactments; second, the custom therein sanctioned of the creditor fasting upon the debtor, a custom which still exists in Hindostan. Hence, in some cases, the creditor fasts on the debtor until he is compelled to pay his debt, lest his creditor should die at the door; in other cases, the creditor not only fasts himself, but also compels his debtor to fast, by stopping his supplies. Elphinstone describes this as used even against princes, and especially by troops to procure payment of arrears.

One of the most noticeable peculiarities of the Brehon law is the compensation for murder, called *eric*. This, however, was common to other nations. Its origin is ascribed to the Germans, but the institution was probably far more

ancient. We find it forbidden in the oldest code of laws in existence ; hence the *eric* must have been in force at an early period of the world's civil history.

The law of succession, called *tanaisteacht*, or tanistry, is one of the most peculiar of the Brehon laws. The eldest son succeeded the father to the exclusion of all collateral claimants, unless he was disqualified by deformity, imbecility or crime. In after ages, by a compact between parents, or mutual agreement, the succession was sometimes made alternate in two or more families. The eldest son, being recognised as presumptive heir, was denominated *tanaiste*, that is minor, or second; while the other sons, or persons eligible in case of failure, were termed *righdhamhua*, which literally means king-material, or king-makings. The *tanaiste* had a separate establishment and distinct privileges. The primitive intention was, that the 'best man' should reign ; but practically it ended in might being taken for right, and often for less important qualifications.

The possession and inheritance of landed property was regulated by the law called gavelkind (gavail-kinne), an ancient Celtic institution, but common to Britons, Anglo-Saxons, and others. By this law, inherited or other property was divided equally between the sons, to the exclusion of the daughters (unless, indeed, in default of heirs male, when females were permitted a life interest). The *tanaiste*, however, was allotted the dwelling-house and other privileges.

The tenure of land was a tribe or family right; and, indeed, the whole system of government and legislation was far more patriarchal than Teutonic—another indication of an eastern origin. All the members of a tribe or family had an equal right to their proportionate share of the land occupied by the whole. This system created a mutual independence and self-consciousness of personal right and importance, strongly at variance with the subjugation of the Germanic and Anglo-Norman vassal.

SECTION III.

Ecclesiastical, Military, and Domestic Architecture.

In the doubt which exists as to the use and the time at which the Round Towers were erected, they may be classed under the head of ecclesiastical architecture. There are about seventy of these singular structures still remaining, and many have been destroyed by time and by the vandalism of modern improvers. The most ancient Irish churches were of cyclopean architecture, although lime cement was used in some cases. They were of small size, rarely exceeding eighty feet in length, excepting the great church or cathedral of Armagh, which was a hundred and forty feet. Their form is very nearly that of the Roman basilica. They were lighted by small windows, opening inwards, but never glazed, though parchment or horn appears to have been used in some places as a substitute for glass. There was only one entrance, placed in the west end, and in all cases the sides of the windows and doorways incline like the doorways in the oldest remains of cyclopean buildings. The roofs were generally constructed of stone, and this method of roofing was continued until the introduction of the Gothic style.

The early Irish ecclesiastics of note were usually either skilled themselves in such arts as enabled them to advance the style of architecture, century by century, from its original primitive form to a higher ideal, or they were assisted by artificers who could execute such works as their taste or piety might suggest. The stone crosses which still remain, with their rich and beautiful carvings, attest the superior ability of those who erected them; and there is ample evidence that the shrines of saints were richly and beautifully adorned, and even painted, a custom continued from the times of the early Christians, who thus adorned the shrines of the martyrs in the catacombs. These shrines were also adorned with costly gems, and ornaments of gold and silver; hence the impiety and barbarism of the Danes, in robbing and destroying them, are frequently recorded in the Annals.

The style of military architecture varied but little from its primitive form until after the Norman invasion. According to the account of the eminent Irish antiquary, Sir W. Wylde, the Pagan military architecture of Ireland exhibits an amount of skill, both in structure and in engineering, which is only equalled by the earliest monuments in Greece, and which induces the inference of a similarity of people. These forts consist of circular enclosures of massive clay walls, from six to sixteen feet thick, entered through a narrow gateway, of sloping sides. Some few have surrounding ramparts, or outworks, and flights of stairs in the inner wall, leading to terraces on the top. The most remarkable of these remains are found in the isles of Arran, particularly that of Dun-Ængus, the greatest monument of the kind extant; Dun-Ogliu, Dun-Caher, and Dun-Conor; also the Grianan of Aileach, in Donegal; Culcashel, in Mayo; and Staigue Fort, in Kerry, in which the construction of the staircases inside are still perfect. This monument of the past is supposed to have been at least 2,000 years in existence.

SECTION IV. *Weapons, Dress, Food, Money.*

The only copper implements of great antiquity are some celts, battle-axes, sword-blades, &c. These weapons probably immediately succeeded those which were used in the stone age. Copper and bronze weapons were also used about the same period. Some of these weapons evince great artistic skill. Gold was used in some cases for shields and helmets; and the magnificent gold diadems preserved in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, which probably belonged to the provincial kings and queens of the Irish Pentarchy, far surpass any ornaments of the kind of a similar age discovered in North-western Europe.

DRESS.—The lunettes—in Irish, *minne*—were the principal gold ornaments of the period. Their exact use has not been determined; it is probable they were worn on the head. Diadems, of thin plates of gold, semi-oval in form, and most magnificently chased and embossed, were also in use.

Gorgetts, or neck-collars, beads, necklaces, earrings, and brooches of gold were generally worn. Bracelets and armillæ adorned the arms of every lady of rank, and were frequently given by the fair wearers as rewards to the poets and historians of the age. The accuracy of the bardic descriptions of costume are continually verified by discoveries of articles which they have described the existence of, which would otherwise have been credited to Celtic imagination. One writer described a torque which had 'two apples or balls of gold at the end.' A torque has lately been found precisely answering to this description. A *Fleasc*, or bracelet, was worn as an indication of rank on the arms of chieftains. One of the most celebrated ornaments which still remain is the Tara brooch, which certainly belongs to the earliest part of the Christian era, if not to Pagan times. It would be impossible to give a short description which would convey any idea of the artistic beauty, delicacy, and skill displayed in this ornament.

There is no record of the first introduction of flax and hemp. The variegated and glowing colours, combined with the gorgeous decorations of dress and the brilliancy of arms, rendered the Celtic costume of the eighth and ninth centuries very attractive. Cloaks, called in Irish *cochall*, were the chief article of dress. It was evidently the analogue of the sagum of the Celtic Gauls, described by Plutarch as parti-coloured; the thick woollen læna of the Belgæ; the Roman toga; and the Greek chlamys. A cloak called *brat* was one of the chief tributes paid by the different states of the Pentarchy; they are described in the 'Book of Rights' in immense varieties. The *matal* was a small decorated cloak. The tunic, *imar*, is also one of the tributes. The *leann*, or mantle, was a white woollen garment, probably a loose shirt.

FOOD.—The great antiquity of corn in Ireland is generally admitted by archæologists; and flesh, fish, and grain were the usual condiments from an early period. Casks of butter have been found of undoubted age; and large masses of cheese have also been preserved and discovered in bogs. The cheese differs in shape from the butter, and was simply placed in the bog without any protection. Mead was used

as drink at a very early period, and was chiefly made from honey. Bees were attended with special care, and some of the enactments of the Brehon laws refer especially to them.

MONEY.—Gold rings were used as a medium of barter, and were given as rewards to poets and men of learning; the Irish ladies, even as early as the first century, are said to have worn them on their arms in great abundance for the purpose of distribution. The high respect paid to learning, and the ample rewards bestowed on those who devoted themselves to the preservation of the national Annals, are a sufficient reason for the care with which they were recorded.

The Danes probably learned the art of coining money from the Irish; it is at least certain, that the Irish had bracteate coins at an early period, which were used as a circulating medium, as well as rings or ingots. Both rings and ingots have been found, of certain fixed weights. From a very remote age the Irish had a regular scale of barter, by which the value of animals and property was regulated.

SECTION V. *Arts, Sciences, and Social Life.*

The art of illuminating manuscripts attained an extraordinary perfection soon after the introduction of Christianity. The monks, not content with occupying themselves in compiling new works and in copying such as already existed, aimed also at the advancement of their productions. However admirable the skill which they displayed, it must be remembered that they were not altogether without models. The Celtic style of art peculiar to itself, and inimitable of its kind, had already been inaugurated, even in the pagan ages of Celtic history, by the workers in gold and other metals, whose artistic designs are only equalled by their skill in workmanship. Transcribing was, in fact, a trade, for the monks obtained support for their monasteries by the payment received for copying works for those who wished to possess them, or to present them to other religious houses. There were three distinct

branches of copyists—the illuminators, the notarii or public scribes, and the librarii antiquarii. Mr. Westwood has observed that, ‘from the fifth to the end of the eighth century a style of art was established in Ireland absolutely distinct from that of all other parts of the civilised world, which obtained a perfection almost marvellous.’ He thus describes this style: ‘It consists, (1) of one or more narrow ribbons, diagonally but symmetrically interlaced, forming an endless variety of patterns; (2) one, two, or three slender spiral lines, coiling one within another till they meet within the centre of the circle, their opposite ends going off to other circles; (3) a vast variety of lacertine animals and birds, coiled one within another, their tails, tongues, and top knots prolonged and irregularly interlaced; (4) diagonal lines, forming Chinese-like patterns. The Irish missionaries brought their style of art with them from Iona to Lindisfarne in the seventh century, with their bold and characteristic caligraphy; these were adopted by the Anglo-Saxons, and hence the name of Anglo-Saxon was given to this style of art, which is, in reality, Celtic. In delicacy of handling and minute but faultless execution, the whole range of palæography offers nothing comparable to the early Celtic manuscripts and those produced in the same style in England.’

It has been already observed, that the monks by no means confined themselves to religious treatises or copies of Scripture; hence such science as the age could boast was fairly and popularly disseminated in Ireland with considerable knowledge of classical subjects. Versification, from the earliest ages, had been an important means of imparting and preserving knowledge, and this art was at once employed in the Divine service by the early converts. The hymns of the Catholic Church, which are unequalled for sublimity of sentiment and beauty of composition, are modelled on the hymns composed by Irish monks.

The phonetic framework of the poetry of each nation is founded on different principles of harmony, or appreciation of sound. Greek and Latin poetry is composed by the recurrence of similar quantities. Hebrew poetry requires parallelism. The Swedes and Norse require alliteration.

The English, French, and Italians require metre. The ancient Irish poetry required assonance, measure, alliteration, and, if the assonance was perfect, rhyme necessarily followed. Rhyme is therefore a quality of Irish verse; and Zeuss has shown that the word rhyme is itself of Irish origin: 'Simplex Hibernicum substantivum *rim*, inde derivatur *rimiré*, compiler.'—*Gram. Celtica*, p. 912. Zeuss also affirms that the Gaulish-Celtic form of composing odes was transferred to the composition of Christian hymns. Hence we find the Irish author Sedulius writing the hymn—

A solis ortus cardine
Ad usque terræ limitem,
Christum canamus principem,
Natam Mariâ Virgine.

And St. Ambrose the ferial hymn for Monday—

Somno refectis artubus, aperto cubili surgimus;
Nobis, pater, canentibus, adesse te deposcimus.

With the 'Jam lucis orto sidere,' and many other hymns, which, although composed in iambic tetrameter, have the assonant and other qualities considered essential by the Celtic bards. Many other examples might be given, but even a mere list of the hymns composed by Irish monks would occupy a considerable space.

MUSIC.—The subject of Celtic music would require a much greater development than can be given to it at present. The form of the harp has been incorrectly represented on our coins. It was first assumed in the national arms about the year 1540. When figured on the coins of Henry VIII., the artist seems to have taken the Italian harp of twenty-four strings for his model; but in the national arms sketched on the map of Ireland in the State Papers, executed in the year 1567, the form is more correct. That the Irish possessed this musical instrument in pre-Christian times, cannot be doubted. The ornamental cover of an Irish manuscript, which Mr. Ferguson considers to date prior to A.D. 1064, contains five examples of the harp of that period. This, and the sculptured harp at Nieg, in Ross-shire, are believed to be the earliest delineations of the perfect harp.

Dr. Bunting gives a sketch of a harp and harper, taken from one of the compartments of a sculptured cross at Ullard, county Kilkenny. This is a remarkable example. The cross is supposed to be older than that of Monasterboice, which was erected A.D. 830, and this is believed to be the first specimen of a harp without a fore pillar that has been discovered out of Egypt. If the Irish harp be really a variety of the cithara, derived through an Egyptian channel, it would form another important link in the chain of evidence, which leads us back to colonisation from Egypt through Scythia. Captain Wilford observes, that there may be a clue to the Celtic word bard in the Hindoo *bárdátri*; but the Irish appellation appears to be of comparatively modern use. It is, however, a noticeable fact, that the farther we extend our enquiries, the more forcibly we are directed to the East as the cradle of our music. Several recent travellers have mentioned the remarkable similarity between Celtic airs and those which they heard in different parts of Asia. Sir W. Ouseley observed, at the close of the last century, that many Hindoo melodies possessed the plaintive simplicity of the Scotch and Irish.

A German scholar has written a work, to prove that the pentatonic scale was brought over by the Celts from Asia, and that it was preserved longer in Scotland than elsewhere, on account of the isolated position of that country. The Phœnicians are supposed to have invented the *kinnor*, *trigonon*, and several other of the most remarkable instruments of antiquity. Their skill as harpists, and their love of music, are indicated by the prophetic denunciation, where the ceasing of songs and the sound of the harp are threatened as a calamity they were likely specially to feel.

Mr. O'Curry gives the names of all the ancient Irish musical instruments as follows:—*Cruit*, a harp; *Timpan*, a drum, or tambourine; *Corn*, a trumpet; *Stoc*, a clarion; *Pipai*, the pipes; *Fidil*, the fiddle. He adds, 'all those are mentioned in an ancient poem in the "Book of Leinster," a manuscript of about the year 1150, now in the Library of Trinity College. The first four are found in various old tales and descriptions of battles.'

The principal Irish instruments were the harp, the trumpet, and the bagpipe. The harp in the Museum of Trinity College, Dublin, usually known as Brian Boroimhé's harp, is supposed, by Dr. Petrie, to be the oldest instrument of the kind now remaining in Europe. It had but one row of strings, thirty in number; the upright pillar is of oak, and the sound-board of red sawall. The minute and beautiful carving on all parts of the instrument attests a high state of artistic skill, at whatever period it was executed. As the harp is only thirty-two inches high, it is supposed that it was used by ecclesiastics in the church services. Cambrensis¹ mentions this custom; and there is evidence of it having existed from the first introduction of Christianity. Harps of this description are figured on the knees of ecclesiastics on several of our ancient stone crosses.

The amusements of the pre-Christian Celt were, undeniably, intellectual. Chess has already been mentioned more than once in this work as a constant occupation of princes and chieftains. Indeed, they appear to have sat down to a game with all the zest of a modern amateur. A few specimens of chessmen have been discovered: a king, elaborately carved, is figured in the Introduction to the 'Book of Rights.' It belonged to Dr. Petrie, and was found, with some others, in a bog in the county Meath. The chessmen of ancient times appear to have been rather formidable as weapons. In the 'Táin bó Chualigne,' Cuchullain is represented as having killed a messenger, who told him a lie, with a chessman, 'which pierced him to the centre of his brain.' English writers speak of the use of chess immediately after the Conquest, and say that the Saxons learned the game from the Danes. The Irish were certainly acquainted with it at a much earlier period; if we are to credit the Annals, it was well known long before the introduction of Christianity.

¹ 'Hinc accidit, ut Episcopi et Abbates, et Sancti in Hiberniâ viri cytharas circumferre et in eis modulando pié delectari consueverunt.'—*Cam. Des.*, p. 739.



THIRD, OR DANISH PERIOD.

FROM A.D. 795 TO A.D. 1168.



PRINCIPAL EVENTS.

FIRST RAID OF THE DANES—PLUNDER OF THE MONASTERIES, AND DESTRUCTION OF THE CHURCHES—ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS AND WORKS OF ART—TURGESIUS, THE DANISH PRINCE, ESTABLISHES HIS HEAD-QUARTERS IN ARMAGH—THE DANES DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTIES, CALLED BLACK AND WHITE GENTILES—REIGN OF CORMAC—WAR WITH KING OF CASHEL—ATTEMPT OF MUIRCHEARTACH TO SUBJUGATE THE DANES—THE DANES OBTAIN POSSESSION OF THE SEA-COAST TOWNS—THE BATTLE OF DUNDALK—MALACHY AND BRIAN BORU—REMOTE CAUSES OF THE BATTLE OF CLONTARF—THE BLOCKADE OF DUBLIN—THE BATTLE OF CLONTARF—DEFEAT OF THE DANES, AND DECLINE OF THE DANISH POWER IN IRELAND.



CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 795 TO A.D. 954.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS: Charlemagne, Emperor of the West—Leo III. Pope—Alfred the Great—Succeeded by Edward the Elder—England ravaged by the Danes—The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge founded—Foundation of the Capet Dynasty in France—The Picts subdued and repelled by Kenneth II.—The Saxon Code of Laws framed.

SECTION I. *The First Raid of the Danish Pirates.*

THE first raid of the Danish pirates is recorded thus: 'The age of Christ 790 [*recte* 795]. The twenty-fifth year of Donnchadh. The burning of Reachrainn by plunderers; and its shrines were broken and plundered.' They had already attacked the English coasts, 'whilst the pious King Bertric was reigning over its western division.' Their arrival was sudden, and so unexpected that the king's officer took them for merchants, paying with his life for the mistake. A Welsh chronicle, known by the name of 'Brut y Tywysogion,' or the Chronicle of the Chieftains, has a corresponding record under the year 790: 'Ten years with four score and seven hundred was the age of Christ when the pagans went to Ireland.' Three manuscripts add, 'and destroyed Rechren.' Another chronicle mentions, that the black pagans, who were the first of their nation to land in Ireland, had previously been defeated in Glamorganshire, and after their defeat they had invaded Ireland, and devastated Rechru.

The Irish gave the generic name of Gaill to all strangers who spoke a foreign language, probably because they confounded them with the Galli, or Gauls, the foreigners with whom they were most intimate. Hence the Danes obtained the name of Gaill, and the wars with the Danes are termed *Cogadh Gaedhil re Gallaiddh*—the wars of the

Irish with the foreigners. After the twelfth century the term Gall was applied to the English; and the Highlanders of Scotland now employ it to designate the Lowlanders. The Danes, according to the Irish chroniclers, were divided into two classes: the 'azure Gentiles,' or *Lochlanns*, and the 'Danaes,' or Danes proper. The exact meaning of these terms has not been ascertained, but they indicate two classes of pirates: the white or fair-haired Norwegians and Swedes; and the dark or 'black' pagans, most dreaded of all, who were Danes. The two nations were hostile to each other, though, or perhaps because, equally bent on plunder. At a later period the word Dane was used generally to signify a barbarian or robber, without distinction of race. The Danes are also called Duv Galls, or Black Gentiles, and Finn Galls, or White Gentiles.

As plunder was the principal object of these Vikings, they first attacked the monastic establishments on the Irish coasts, which had been richly endowed by the piety and liberality of the Irish Milesian kings and princes. In 798 they invaded the Isle of Man, and on their return took 'spoils of the sea between Erinn and Alba.' Finding but little resistance, they were emboldened to attack the mainland, and in 807, the tenth year of Hugh Oirnidhe, they made a raid on the south-west coast of Ireland, and, after burning the island of Finshunneay, proceeded to Roscommon. During the years 812 and 813 they made raids in Connaught and Munster, but not without encountering stout resistance from the native forces. After this predatory and internecine warfare had continued for about thirty years, Turgesius, a Norwegian prince, established himself as sovereign of the Vikings, and made Armagh his head-quarters, A.D. 830. If the Irish chieftains had united their forces, and acted in concert, the result would have been the expulsion of the intruders; but, unhappily, this unity of purpose in matters political has never existed. The Danes made and broke alliances with the provincial kings at their own convenience, while these princes gladly availed themselves of even temporary assistance from their cruel foes, while engaged in domestic wars, which should never have been undertaken. Still the Northmen were

more than once driven from the country by the bravery of the native commanders, and they often paid dearly for the cruel wrongs they inflicted on their hapless victims. Sometimes the Danish chiefs mustered all their forces, and left the island for a brief period, to ravage the shores of England or Scotland; but they soon returned to inflict new barbarities on the unfortunate Irish.

Burning churches or destroying monasteries was a favourite pastime of these pirates, wherever they could obtain a landing on Christian shores; and the number of religious houses in Ireland afforded them abundant means of gratifying their barbarous inclinations. But when they became so far masters as to have obtained some permanent settlement, this mode of proceeding was considered either more troublesome or less profitable than that of appropriating to themselves the abbeys and churches. Turgesius, it is said, placed an abbot of his own in every monastery; and as he had already conferred ecclesiastical offices on himself and on his lady, we may presume he was not very particular in his selections. Each village, too, was placed under the rule of a Danish captain; and each family was obliged to maintain a soldier of that nation, who made himself master of the house, using and wasting the food for lack of which the starving children of the lawful owner were often dying of hunger.

All education was strictly forbidden; books and manuscripts were burned and *drowned*; and the poets, historians, and musicians imprisoned and driven to the woods and mountains. Martial sports were interdicted, from the lowest to the highest rank. Even nobles and princes were forbidden to wear their usual habiliments, the cast-off clothes of the Danes being considered sufficiently good for slaves.

The clergy, who had been driven from their monasteries, concealed themselves as best they could, continuing still their prayers and fasts, and the fervent recital of the Divine Office. The Irish, true to their faith in every trial, were not slow to attribute their deliverance to the prayers of these holy men.

In 831 Nial Caille led an army against them, and defeated them at Derry; but, in the meanwhile, Felim,

king of Cashel, with contemptible selfishness, marched into Leinster to claim tribute, and plundered everyone, except the Danes, who should have been alone considered as enemies at such a time. Even the churches were not spared by him, for he laid waste the termon-lands of Clonmacnois, 'up to the church door.' After his death a brave and good king came to the rescue of his unfortunate country. While still king of Meath, Meloughlin had freed the nation from Turgesius, one of its worst tyrants, by drowning him in Lough Owel.

The name Turgesius, or Turgeis, is the Latin form of the Scandinavian name Thorgils, or Thorkils, which occurs frequently in the northern Sagas. Snorro Sturleston probably intends the Turgesius of Irish history when he mentions that Thorgils, the son of Harold Harfagr, was sent on an expedition to Scotland, Ireland, and Britland [Britain] by his father. His brother Frode was poisoned in Dublin; and Thorgils, after a long reign, 'fell into a snare of the Irish and was killed.' This looks like an identity of person, but the date given by Snorro shows that he was mistaken in his chronology. Turgesius has also been identified with Ragnar Lodbrok, king of Denmark and Norway; but there are more serious difficulties in the way of this identification.

Turgesius was drowned A.D. 845. His death was a signal for a general revolt against the oppressors. In 846 they were defeated at Skeen, and on another occasion at Kildare. New fleets, however, were continually arriving, and supplying the place of the slain, or affording reinforcements to the already powerful strangers. A fleet settled at Lough Neagh, and plundered all round the country as far as Armagh. Another party selected the Liffey for their anchorage, and another detachment landed at the south of Atheliadh, as Dublin was then called, and plundered it. There is considerable confusion in the Annals of this period, occasioned possibly by different persons giving different accounts of these raids, which, at a later period, were supposed to be different accounts of different expeditions. But on the whole, the course pursued by the invaders can be ascertained with tolerable exactitude.

SECTION II. *Arrival of the Duv-gaill, or Black Gentiles.*

The first northern invaders of Ireland are distinguished by the annalists as the Finngall, White or Azure Gentiles. They were Norwegians, and their power lasted until the death of Turgesius. In 852 the more formidable Black Gentiles made their appearance, and contested the country with the former invaders. Their first attack was made on the fortress which the White Gentiles had erected at Dublin. This they plundered, routing the White Gentiles with great slaughter. The Norwegians then sent out a fleet of eight score ships, and gave battle to the Danes at the present Carlingford. The engagement lasted three days and three nights, and the Danes were again victorious. One of the Norwegian leaders, Stam, escaped by flight; the other, Iercne, was captured and beheaded.

A curious account of these contests is given by Donald MacFirbis, in his 'Fragments of Annals.' It is very characteristic of the times. According to this account, the 'Black Galls fought with the White Galls for three days and nights, and were finally victorious. They take the ships they have captured to Dublin, and deprive the Lochlanns (White Galls) of all the spoil they had so cruelly and unjustly acquired from the "shrines and sanctuaries of the saints of Erin;" which the annalist naturally considers a judgment on them for their sins. They make another struggle, and gain the victory. But the Danish general, Horm, advises his men to put themselves under the protection of St. Patrick, and to promise the saint "honourable alms for gaining victory and triumph" over enemies who had plundered his churches. They comply with this advice; and though greatly inferior in numbers, they gain the victory, "on account of the tutelage of St. Patrick." ' It is, however, extremely doubtful whether St. Patrick's people were any better for the victory, whether gained through his 'tutelage' or not. Limerick was already in possession of the first comers, and was probably founded by them; indeed, the principal Irish seaports owe their origin to the Danes, who naturally selected the most convenient landing-places, and

then fortified themselves as best they could on the nearest site.

Soon after the famous conflict between the Black and White Gentiles, both parties combined, under the leadership of Amlaff or Olaf. Several dates are given for this event; the most probable is A.D. 853. This prince was the Amlaff or Olaf Huitha (the White) of Scandinavian history, and is said in the 'Landnamabok' to have 'seized Dublin in Ireland and the Dublin shire' (or Dyflinnarskiri), where he was made king. He is described as a pirate, and the records of his exploits fully bear out the character, though probably it was not intended as any reproach. He signalled his advent by drowning Coobar, 'heir apparent of Tara;' by slaying all the chieftains of the Deisi; by killing the son of Clennfaedadh, king of Muskerry; by smothering Machdaighren in a cave; and by the destruction of Caitill Find (Ketill the White) and his whole garrison. The death of Maelgualai, son of Dungaille, king of Munster, whose head was broken by a stone, is next recorded, but there is no special mention as to whether Amlaff was the instigator or perpetrator of this barbarism. This occurred in 857, according to the chronology of the Four Masters. The next clause asserts that they were 'all killed by the men of Munster,' but the reasoning is not very clear, and perhaps, as general slaughtering was the order of the day, not very important. Ketill the White was probably a Norseman; and his followers are called the *Gaill-Gaedhil*, a name applied only to apostate Irish who joined the Danish ranks.

Oisill is the next chief of importance; and he 'succeeded in plundering the greatest part of Ireland.' It is not recorded how long he was occupied in performing this exploit, but he was eventually slain, and his army cut off. The deaths of several Danish chieftains occurred about this period, and are referred to the vengeance of certain saints, whose shrines they had desecrated. In A.D. 864 according to the Four Masters, 867 according to O'Flaherty, the Danes were defeated at Lough Foyle, by Hugh Finnliath, king of Ireland. Soon after, Leinster and Munster were plundered by a Scandinavian chief, named Baraid, who

advanced as far as Kerry: 'And they left not a cave underground that they did not explore; and they left nothing, from Limerick to Cork, that they did not ravish.'

The 'caves' or cairns which have been recently examined bear ample evidence of this plundering; the loss to the archæologists can only be estimated by a full knowledge of what has been spared. Unfortunately these barbarians had a passion for wanton destruction as well as for illegal possession, and not only carried off gold torques, chalices, and costly shrines, but also mutilated, burned, and even drowned the memorable Annals, which must have existed in immense numbers, if we may judge by what still remains. Even richly illuminated manuscripts were specially the objects of their wanton barbarity, and the monks were fain to be thankful if they escaped with their lives, even at the price of their most precious treasures.

The native princes were chiefly, if not entirely, to blame for all this destruction. Had they combined against the common enemy, there can be but little doubt of the result. During the reign of Amlaff, a great meeting of Irish ecclesiastics was convened at Rathugh, for the purpose of reconciling the Irish chieftains. They succeeded to some extent, for the northern Hy-Nials alone remained belligerent. The other kings and chieftains pronounced against them; and Hugh Finnlaith formed an alliance with Amlaff, and with his aid overran the kingdom of Meath.

Meloughlin died, after a reign of sixteen years, A.D. 860. The annalists mention an embassy from him to Charles the Bald, to inform that monarch of victories gained over the northern pirates, and to obtain his permission for the Irish kings to pass through France on a pilgrimage to Rome. Hugh Finnlaith succeeded Meloughlin, broke his treaty with Amlaff, which had been only one of convenience, and turned his arms vigorously against the foreigners. This prince was married to a daughter of Kenneth M'Alpine, the first sole monarch of Scotland. After the death of the Irish prince, his wife married his successor, Flann, who, according to the alternate plan of succession, came of the southern Hy-Nial family, and was a son of Meloughlin, once the formidable opponent of the lady's former husband.

During the reign of Flann, Cormac MacCullinan, a prelate distinguished for his learning and sanctity, was obliged to unite the office of priest and king. This unusual combination, however, was not altogether without precedent. The archbishopric of Cashel owes its origin remotely to this great man; as from the circumstance of the city of Cashel having been the seat of royalty in the south, and the residence of the kings of Munster, it was exalted, in the twelfth century, to the dignity of an archiepiscopal see. Cormac's history is one of considerable interest, and it forms an important episode in the Annals of the ninth century.

SECTION III. *The Reign of Cormac MacCullinan.*

The Four Masters thus record the accession of Cormac to the royal dignity:—‘A change of kings at Caiscal [Cashel], *i.e.* Cormac, son of Ciulcannan, in the place of Cennughegan, *i.e.* Finguine.’ Keating,¹ however, gives full details, probably because he took a special interest in the good ecclesiastic, as one of his own order. Finguine was slain, after a reign of six years, by his own people; and as Cormac was next in succession, he was obliged to assume the government, although he had embraced the ecclesiastical state. There is no doubt that the early part of his reign was singularly prosperous, and that the part of Ireland which he governed enjoyed an uninterrupted tranquillity, which Keating thus describes:—‘Great was the prosperity of Ireland during his reign; for the land became filled with the Divine grace, and with every prosperity, and with public peace in those days; so that the cattle needed no cowherd and the flocks no shepherd, as long as he was king. The shrines of the saints were then protected, and many temples and monasteries were built; public schools were established for the purpose of giving instruction in letters, law, and history; many were the tilled fields, numerous the bees, and plenteous the beehives, under his rule; frequent was fasting and prayer, and every other

¹ Keating wrote his *History of Ireland* in the seventeenth century, when he had access to many manuscripts now lost or destroyed. He was a Catholic priest, of blameless life, and considerable intellectual ability.

work of piety; many houses of public hospitality were built, and many books written at his command. And, moreover, whenever he exacted the performance of any good work from others, he was wont to set them the example himself by being the first to practise it, whether it was a deed of alms or benevolence, or prayer, or attending mass, or any other virtuous deed.'

The absence of the Danes from Ireland at this period no doubt contributed to the general tranquillity, and the rest may be credited to Cormac's prudence and piety. But this happy state was not of very long continuance. On one occasion, when Cormac was celebrating the Feast of Easter at Cashel, he asked for 'food and treasures' from the Eoghanists. The motive which led to this demand is not very clear. The rights of Irish kings and chiefs were plainly defined, and the king of Cashel had no claim whatever upon this clan. The tribute, or present—for it is by no means certain in which sense the demand was made—having been refused, Cormac asked for jewels and other valuables. Some presents were sent, but the gifts were as insulting as a refusal, for they consisted of the worst arms and goods which the Eoghanists possessed. The Dalcassians on both occasions made presents to Cormac, in compensation or atonement for the conduct of the Eoghanists.

There was a turbulent and unruly ecclesiastic in Cormac's court, who was continually urging him to avenge this insult; and another circumstance occurred soon after which proved a still more plausible pretext. The territory of Lorcan, king of Thomond, was invaded by the king of Connaught. Flann, the ard-righ, took part in the quarrel. By the advice of the abbot Flahertach, Cormac made two campaigns against these united forces, and in both he was victorious. Soon after, another war was proposed by the abbot, and the pretext was, a demand for tribute from the Leinster men. Cormac was most unwilling to undertake this expedition, having a presentiment that he should be slain in battle. But Flahertach, and the counsel of his other chiefs, prevailed. Before he set out he made his will, bequeathing considerable property to different churches and monasteries.

Flann headed the opposing army, and they obtained an easy victory. Cormac was killed by his horse rolling over him down a hill made slippery by the blood of the slain. A common soldier, who recognised his remains, cut off his head, and brought it as a trophy to Flann; but the monarch bewailed the death of the good and great prince, and reproved the indignity with which his remains had been treated. This battle was fought at a place called Ballaghmoon, in the county of Kildare, a few miles from the town of Carlow.

Flahertach survived the battle, and, after some years spent in a monastery, became once more minister, and ultimately king of Munster. As he advanced in years, he learned to love peace, and his once irascible temper became calm and equable.

The Rock of Cashel, and the ruins of a small but once beautiful chapel, still preserve the memory of the bishop-king. His literary fame also has its memorials. His 'Rule' is contained in a poem of fourteen stanzas, written in the most pure and ancient style of Gaedhlic, of which, as well as of many other languages, the illustrious Cormac was so profound a master. This 'Rule' is general in several of its inculcations; but it appears to have been written particularly as an instruction to a priest, for the moral and spiritual direction of himself and his flock. He was also skilled in the Ogham writings, as may be gathered from a poem written by a contemporary, who, in paying compliments to many of the Irish kings and chiefs, addresses the following stanza to Cormac:—

Cormac of Cashel, with his champions,
Munster is his,—may he long enjoy it!
Around the King of *Raith-Bicli* are cultivated
The letters and the trees.

The battle in which Cormac lost his life took place A.D. 903. Under the year 901, the death of King Alfred is thus recorded:—'A.D. 900 (*recte* 901): Alfred, the king who instituted the laws and ordinances of the Saxons, and who was the most distinguished for prowess, wisdom, and piety, of the Saxon kings, died.'

SECTION IV. *The Circuit of Ireland by Murtagh.*

Flann's last years were disturbed by domestic dissensions. His sons, Donough and Conor, both rebelled against him; but Nial Glunduv (of the black knee), a northern Hy-Nial chief, led an army against them, and compelled them to give hostages to their father. Flann died the following year, A.D. 914, and was succeeded by the prince who had so ably defended him.

A fresh body of Northmen landed in Ireland about this time, and the native princes made a brave but ineffectual attempt to expel them. An engagement took place at Confey, near the present Leixlip, in which the Irish were repulsed with great slaughter, A.D. 915. Two years later, another attempt was made to dislodge the intruders; but the results were even more disastrous. Nial and his chieftains attacked the outskirts of the Danish camp at Rathfarnham, near Dublin, and drove them nearly into their fortress of Ath-Cliath. Here, however, the brave Nial was slain, and his forces totally routed.

Donough, son of Flann, succeeded to the chief sovereignty. His character is not depicted in very flattering terms by the annalists. Muirkertach, son of Nial, the preceding monarch, was next heir to the throne, and, as such, took an important part in public affairs. He was a brave and generous-minded chieftain, and more than once yielded to the innovations of Donough, to prevent further dissensions in his already distracted country. He was the most formidable opponent whom the Danish invaders had as yet encountered; but his efforts were continually frustrated by Callaghan of Cashel, king of Munster, a brave chief also, but thoroughly selfish in all his policy. He kept up the hereditary feud which distracted and disgraced Ireland for so many centuries, and, as it suited his convenience, allied himself with or against the Danes. In 934, he pillaged Clonmacnoise, which had suffered the same treatment from the Danes a few months previously; and in 937 he united with them in invading Meath and Ossory.

In 939, Murtagh attacked the Norsemen in the Hebrides,

and on his return prepared for his historically famous circuit of Ireland.¹ He assembled an army, composed of a thousand soldiers renowned for valour, and, at their head, commenced his journey. As his soldiers were supplied with leathern cloaks, to protect them from the cold at night, he obtained the *sobriquet* of Murtagh of the Leathern Cloaks. Besides overawing and subduing the Danes, this prince intended to take hostages from all the native princes, to compel them, if possible, to keep peace. He marched first to Dublin, 'keeping the sea on his left hand,' where he seized Sitric, brother of Godfred, the Danish king. The Leinster men at first made some show of resistance, and assembled in great numbers to intercept his course at Glen-Mama, near Dunlaven. They had encamped at night; but when they saw the powerful host by which Murtagh was attended, discretion seemed the best part of valour, and they retired, leaving the northern chieftain to pursue his victorious course.

At the fortress of Aillinn he seized and fettered Lorcan, king of Leinster. He then marched into Munster, and 'put a fetter' upon Callaghan, king of Cashel. In Connaught, Conor, son of the king of that province, offered himself as hostage, and was not fettered. The circuit being completed, Murtagh returned to his fortress at Aileach, where he entertained his unwilling captives for five months, and each was served 'as a monarch should be attended.' At the conclusion of this period he transferred the hostages to the care of Donough, the then monarch of Ireland.

Two years later the hero was slain by Blacaire, a son of the Danish monarch at Ardee. Callaghan of Cashel, who had been restored to his kingdom, died ten years after. Donough, who was styled monarch of Tara—a title given to the *ard-ri* for many centuries after the desertion of that place—was succeeded by Congallach. He was killed by the Danes in 954, and Donnell O'Neil, son of Murtagh, obtained the royal dignity.

¹ A contemporary account of this circuit was written in verse by Cormacan the poet, who died A.D. 948. It has been translated into English, with valuable notes, for the Irish Archæological Society by the late Dr. O'Donovan.

CHAPTER IX.

CULMINATION OF THE DANISH POWER TERMINATING WITH THE BATTLE OF CLONTARF.

A.D. 954 to A.D. 1014.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS: Otho I. crowned Emperor of Germany by the Pope—Extinction of the Carlovingian Dynasty—The Danes obtain great power in England—Legalisation of Tournaments—Invention of Musical Notes.

SECTION I. *Mahoun and Brian Boru.*

THE Danes are said to have been converted to Christianity about the middle of the tenth century; but, as they continued to plunder shrines and burn churches as before, their conversion must have been merely nominal. The divisions of the native Irish—which, from wanting a competent and acknowledged head, seem rather to have increased than to have lessened—tended to consolidate the Danish power. The northern and southern Hy-Nials alternated the sovereignty with tolerable fairness; but as the southern Hy-Nials were far inferior in power to their northern relations, when it came to their turn to rule much weakness and, consequently, much dissension was inevitable.

The government of Munster had also been settled on the alternate principle, between the Dalcassians, or northern Munster race, and the Eoghanists, or southern. This rule, however, was not regularly observed, and for a long time the Desmonds, who belonged to the southern clan, kept the right of succession from the northerns. Cormac MacCuilennan wished to restore the ancient arrangement, and managed so that Lorcan, king of Thomond, should

obtain his turn. In 942 his son Kennedy, the father of the famous Brian Boru, contested the kingdom with an Eoghanist prince, Callahan, but yielded his claims, and joined his opponent in fighting against the Danes. In 960 Mahoun, the eldest son of Kennedy, obtained the crown of Munster, his brother Brian being the heir apparent. The exploits of these two chieftains and brothers form an important and interesting episode in the history of the period, and are detailed at considerable length. The Danes and the Connaught men, who had invaded Thomond, afforded ample occupation for their military prowess, and a guerilla war was carried on for some time in the woods of Thomond, in which no quarter was given on either side, and wherein it was 'woe to either party to meet the other.' Mahoun at last proposed a truce, but Brian refused to consent to this arrangement. He continued the war until he found his army reduced to fifteen men. Mahoun then sent for him. An interview took place, which is described in the form of a poetic dialogue, between the two brothers. Brian reproached Mahoun with cowardice; Mahoun reproached Brian with imprudence. Brian hints broadly that Mahoun had interested motives in making this truce, and declares that neither Kennedy their father, nor Lorcan their grandfather, would have been so quiescent towards the foreigners for the sake of wealth, nor would they have given them even as much time as would have sufficed to play a game of chess¹ on the green of Mogadare. Mahoun kept his temper, and contented himself with reproaching Brian for his recklessness, in sacrificing the lives of so many of his faithful followers to no purpose. Brian replied that he would never abandon his inheritance, without a contest, to 'such foreigners as Black Grim Gentiles.'

The result was a conference of the tribe, who voted for war, and marched into the country of the Eoghanists (the present county Kerry), who at once joined the standard of

¹ Flann Sionna, monarch of Ireland, had encamped on this plain, and ostentatiously commenced a game of chess as a mark of contempt for the chieftains whose country he had invaded. His folly met its just punishment, for he was ignominiously defeated.—See *Wars of the Gaedhil*, p. 113, note.

the Dalcassians. The Danes suffered severely in Munster. This aroused the Limerick Danes; and their chieftain, Ivar, attacked the territory of Dal-Cais, an exploit in which he was joined, to their eternal shame, by several native princes and tribes, amongst whom were Molloy, son of Braun, king of Desmond, and Donovan, son of Cathal, king of Carbery. The result was a fierce battle at Sulcoit, near Tipperary, wherein the Danes were gloriously defeated. The action was commenced by the Northmen. It continued from sunrise till midday, and terminated in the rout of the foreigners, who fled 'to the ditches, and to the valleys, and to the solitudes of the great sweet flower plain,' where they were followed by the conquerors, and massacred without mercy.

The Dalcassians now obtained possession of Limerick, with immense spoils of jewels, gold and silver, foreign saddles, 'soft, youthful, bright girls, blooming silk-clad women, and active, well-formed boys.' The active boys were soon disposed of, for we find that they collected the prisoners on the hillocks of Saingel, where 'every one that was fit for war was put to death, and every one that was fit for a slave was enslaved.' This event is dated A.D. 968.

Mahoun was now firmly established on the throne, but his success procured him many enemies. A conspiracy was formed against him under the auspices of Ivar of Limerick and his son, Dubhcenn. The Eoghanist clans basely withdrew their allegiance from their lawful sovereign, allied themselves with the Danes, and became principals in the plot of assassination. Their motive was as simple as their conduct was vile. The two Eoghanist families were represented by Donovan and Molloy. They were descendants of Oilioll Oluim, from whom Mahoun was also descended, but his family were Dalcassians. Hitherto the Eoghanists had succeeded in depriving the tribes of Dal-Cais of their fair share of alternate succession to the throne of Munster; they became alarmed at and jealous of the advancement of the younger tribe, and determined to do by treachery what they could not do by force. With the usual headlong eagerness of traitors, they seem to have forgotten Brian, and quite overlooked the

retribution they might expect at his hands for their crime. There are two different accounts of the murder, which do not coincide in detail. On the main facts, however, we may rely. Mahoun was entrapped in some way to the house of Donovan, and there he was basely murdered, in violation of the rights of hospitality, and in defiance of the safe-conduct of the bishop, which he secured before his visit.

The traitors gained nothing by their treachery except the contempt of posterity. Brian was not slow in avenging his brother. 'He was not a stone in place of an egg, nor a wisp of hay in place of a club; but he was a hero in place of a hero, and valour after valour.'

Public opinion was not mistaken in its estimate of his character. Two years after the death of Mahoun, Brian invaded Donovan's territory, drove off his cattle, took the fortress of Cathair Cuan, and slew Donovan and his Danish ally, Harolt. He next proceeded to settle accounts with Molloy. Cogarán is sent to the whole tribe of Ui Eachach, to know 'the reason why' they killed Mahoun, and to declare that no *cumhal* or fine would be received, either in the shape of hostages, gold, or cattle, but that Molloy must himself be given up. Messages were also sent to Molloy, both general and particular. The general message challenged him to battle at Belach-Lechta; the particular message, which in truth he hardly deserved, was a challenge to meet Murrough, Brian's son, in single combat. The result was the battle of Belach-Lechta, where Molloy was slain, with twelve hundred of his troops, both native and foreign. Brian remained master of the field and of the kingdom, A.D. 978.

Brian was now undisputed king of Munster. In 984, he was acknowledged monarch of Leth Mogha, the southern half of Ireland. Meanwhile Malachy, who governed Leth Cuinn, or the northern half of Ireland, had not been idle. He fought a battle with the Danes in 979, near Tara, in which he defeated their forces, and slew Raguall, son of Amlaif, king of Dublin. Amlaif felt the defeat so severely that he retired to Iona, where he died of a broken heart. Donough O'Neill, son of Murtagh, died this year, and Malachy obtained the regal dignity. Emboldened by his

success at Tara, he resolved to attack the foreigners in Dublin; he therefore laid siege to that city, and compelled it to surrender after three days, liberating two thousand prisoners, including the king of Leinster, and took abundant spoils. At the same time he issued a proclamation, freeing every Irishman then in bondage to the Danes, and stipulating that the race of Nial should henceforth be free from tribute to the foreigners.

It is probable that Brian had already formed designs for obtaining the royal power. The country resounded with the fame of his exploits, and Malachy became aware at last that he must either have him for an ally or an enemy. He prudently chose the former alternative, and in the nineteenth year of his reign (997 according to the Four Masters) he made arrangements with Brian for a campaign against the common enemy. Malachy surrendered all hostages to Brian, and Brian agreed to recognise Malachy as sole monarch of northern Erin, 'without war or trespass.' This treaty was absolutely necessary, in order to offer effective resistance to the Danes. The conduct of the two kings towards each other had not been of a conciliatory nature previously. In 981, Malachy had invaded the territory of the Dalcassians, and uprooted the great oak-tree of Magh Adair, under which its kings were crowned—an insult which could not fail to excite bitter feelings both in prince and people. In 989, the monarch occupied himself fighting the Danes in Dublin, to whom he laid siege for twenty nights, reducing the garrison to such straits that they were obliged to drink the salt water when the tide rose in the river. Brian then made reprisals on Malachy, by sending boats up the Shannon, burning the royal rath of Dun Sciath. Malachy, in his turn, recrossed the Shannon, burned Nenagh, plundered Ormonde, and defeated Brian himself in battle. He then marched again to Dublin, and once more attacked 'the proud invader.' It was on this occasion that he obtained the 'collar of gold,' which Moore has immortalised in his world-famous 'Melodies.'

When the kings had united their forces, they obtained another important victory at Glen-Mama. Harolt, son of Olaf Cuaran, the then Danish king, was slain, and four

thousand of his followers perished with him. The victorious army marched at once to Dublin. Here they obtained spoils of great value, and made many slaves and captives. According to some accounts, Brian remained in Dublin until the feast of St. Brigid (February 1); other annalists say that he remained only from Great Christmas to Little Christmas. Meanwhile there can be but little doubt that Brian had in view the acquisition of the right to be called sole monarch of Ireland. It is a blot on an otherwise noble character—an ugly spot in a picture of more than ordinary interest. Sitric, another son of Olaf's, fled for protection to Aedh and Eochaidh, two northern chieftains; but they gave him up, from motives of fear or policy, to Brian's soldiers, and, after due submission, he was restored to his former position. Brian then gave his daughter in marriage to Sitric, and completed the family alliance by espousing Sitric's mother, Gormflaith, a lady of rather remarkable character, who had been divorced from her second husband, Malachy. Brian now proceeded to depose Malachy. The account of this important transaction is given in so varied a manner by different writers that it seems almost impossible to ascertain the truth. The southern annalists are loud in their assertions of the incapacity of the reigning monarch, and would have it believed that Brian only yielded to the urgent entreaties of his countrymen in accepting the proffered crown. But the warlike exploits of Malachy have been too faithfully recorded to leave any doubt as to his prowess in the field; and we may probably class the regret of his opponent in accepting his position with similar protestations made under circumstances in which such regret was as little likely to be real.

The poet Moore, with evident partiality for the subject of his song, declares that the magnanimous character of Malachy was the real ground of peace under such provocation, and that he submitted to the encroachments of his rival rather from motives of disinterested desire for his country's welfare, than from any reluctance or inability to fight his own battle.

But Brian had other chieftains to deal with, of less amiable or more warlike propensities. The proud Hy-Nials of

the north were long in yielding to his claims; but even these he at length subdued, compelling the Cinel-Eoghain to give him hostages, and carrying off the lord of Cinel-Connaill bodily to his fortress at Kincora. Here he had assembled a sort of 'happy family,' consisting of refractory princes and knights, who, refusing hostages to keep the peace with each other, were obliged to submit to the royal will and pleasure, and at least to appear outwardly in harmony.

These precautionary measures, however summary, and the energetic determination of Brian to have peace kept either by sword or law, have given rise to the romantic ballad of the lady perambulating Ireland with a gold ring and white wand, and passing unmolested through its once belligerent kingdoms.

Brian now turned his attention to the state of religion and literature, restoring the churches and monasteries which had been plundered and burnt by the Danes. He is said also to have founded the churches of Killaloe and Iniscealtra, and to have built the round tower of Tomgrany, in the present county Clare. A gift of twenty ounces of gold to the church of Armagh—a large donation for that period—is also recorded amongst his good deeds.

There is some question as to the precise year in which Brian obtained or usurped the authority and position of *ard-righ*: A.D. 1002, however, is the date most usually accepted. He was probably about sixty-one years of age, and Malachy was then about fifty-three.

SECTION II.

The remote and immediate causes of the Battle of Clontarf.

It will be remembered that incessant, though often ineffectual, efforts to drive out the Danes had been made by Irish princes and chiefs from time to time. On some occasions the enemy was expelled for a time, and the few settlers who were not, or could not be driven out, were powerless to work any harm, and thankful for permission to remain on sufferance. But the Danes never absented themselves in great numbers for any considerable period, and after

each partial expulsion they returned in still greater force, and with a yet stronger determination to make themselves masters of the country. The Irish, on their side, were always anxious to make a continued effort to drive them out finally. Such an effort was made and perfected by the superior generalship and bravery of the famous Brian Boru. But Brian's wife, Gormflaith, was the means of exciting the immediate cause of the quarrel which ended in the final expulsion of the Danes. This lady had been married three times. Her first husband was a Dane, Olaf Cuaran; her second husband was the then chief monarch of Ireland, Malachy; and her third husband was Brian Boru. The best authorities have admitted it to be impossible to explain her matrimonial arrangements clearly; and as her three husbands were all living at the same time, the difficulty is easily accounted for. In Dr. Dascent's version of 'Burnt Njal,' he makes Brian her first husband; but this is evidently a mistake. Brian married another wife after he had repudiated Gormflaith, but she lived with him at his palace of Kincora after the death of this lady.

Gormflaith's three marriages are described in the Annals as 'three jumps, which a woman should never jump;' a hint that her matrimonial arrangements had not the sanction of canon law. She was remarkable for her beauty as well as for her proud and violent temper, which was probably the reason why she was repudiated by Malachy and Brian. Her brother Maelmurra was king of Leinster. He had been established on his throne by the Danes, and was therefore, to a certain extent, their vassal. But Maelmurra was also subject to Brian, and obliged to pay him certain tributes. While his sister Gormflaith was at Kincora, he came there also with a tribute, of which pine masts for ship-building formed a principal part. The trees had been cut in the great pine forest at Feegile, near the present town of Portarlinton. Two other tribes were bringing their tributes at the same time, and a dispute occurred for precedency as they crossed the mountains. To settle the dispute, Maelmurra assisted in carrying the trees of the Ui Failens.

But the king of Ireland was also obliged to give certain

'rights' or presents to his tributaries; and amongst these rights we find mention of 'fine-textured clothes,' which the ard-righ was bound to bestow upon the king of Leinster. Maelmurra wore a tunic of silk with a gold brocade and silver buttons, which Brian had given him. In lifting the tree one of the buttons was torn off, and on his arrival at Kincora he asked his sister to mend it for him. But the haughty lady flung the garment into the fire, and reproached her brother bitterly with condescending to accept a token of vassalage, and so fired his pride, that he was prepared for any outrage. An occasion of offence soon arose. Brian had three sons by Mór, his first wife. While the eldest, Murrough, was playing chess with his cousin Conaing, Maelmurra was looking on, and suggested a move by which Murrough lost the game. The youth turned on Maelmurra and exclaimed, 'That was like the advice you gave to the Danes, which lost them Glen-Mama.' The other answered, 'I will give them advice now, and they shall not again be defeated.' Murrough retorted, 'Then you had better remind them to prepare a yew tree for your reception.' This was a keen insult, and in itself quite sufficient to give rise to a serious quarrel. At the battle of Glen-Mama, Maelmurra had fought with the Danes against Brian, hoping thereby to secure the crown of Leinster for himself. But when victory declared for Brian, Maelmurra hid himself in a yew tree, where he was discovered and captured by the very youth who now taunted him with his cowardice. When Brian made alliance himself with the Danes he joined Maelmurra in the treaty, and assisted him in attaining the object of his ambition.

Early on the following morning Maelmurra left Kincora in a rage, 'without permission and without taking leave.' Brian despatched a messenger after him, to pacify him and to entreat him to return, but the angry chief, for all reply, 'broke all the bones in his head.' If civil war was Gorm-flaith's object, she certainly attained her end. Maelmurra proceeded homewards rapidly; and detailed accounts of his journey, of considerable topographical interest, are given. His clan were soon roused to avenge the insults offered to their chief. The O'Rourkes, O'Niels, O'Flahertys,

and Kearys all promised to assist him. O'Niel ravaged Meath; O'Rourke attacked Malachy and slew his grandson Drumale, the heir apparent. But Malachy amply repaid these outrages, and defeated his assailants soon after in a bloody engagement. He then divided his forces into three parties, and plundered Leinster as far as Meath. Reprisals were made on each side with varying success, until Malachy found that the Danes and Leinster men, united, were too many for him, and sent messengers to Brian demanding the protection to which he was entitled as his vassal.

Brian obeyed the summons promptly. After ravaging Ossory successfully, he marched to Dublin, where he was joined by his son Murrough, who had devastated Wicklow, burning, destroying, and carrying off captives until he reached Kilmainham. Here the two armies united, and stockaded Dublin, where they remained encamped 'from the festival of St. Ciaran in Harvest (Sept. 9) until Christmas Day.' Want of provisions obliged them then to raise the siege.

During the depth of winter all parties remained inactive, but as spring approached formidable preparations were made on every side. Gormflaith, who, according to the Annals, was 'grim' against Brian, had joined her brother Maclmurra and her son Sitric. It would appear that this lady was not very well received by Brian, on her return to Kincora, and hence the 'grimness' which left no efforts unused to avenge itself.

The storm was now gathering in earnest, and the most active preparations were made on both sides for a mighty and decisive conflict. Ambassadors were despatched in all directions to obtain reinforcements. Brodir, the earl, and Amlaif, son of the king of Lochlann, 'the two earls of Cair, and of all the north of Saxon land,' came at the head of two thousand men; 'and there was not one villain of that two thousand who had not polished, strong, triple-plated armour of refined iron, or of cooling, uncorroding brass, encasing their sides and bodies from head to foot.' Moreover, the said villains 'had no reverence, veneration, or respect, or mercy for God or man, for church or for sanctuary; they were cruel, ferocious, plundering, hard-hearted,

wonderful Dannarbrians, selling and hiring themselves for gold and silver, and other treasure as well.'

Gormflaith was evidently one of the most efficient agents on the occasion, for we find wonderful accounts of her zeal and efforts in collecting forces. 'Other treasure' may possibly be referred to that lady's hand, of which she appears to have been very liberal on all occasions. She despatched her son, Sitric, to Siguard, earl of the Orkneys, who promised his assistance, but he required the hand of Gormflaith as payment for his services, and that he should be made king of Ireland. Sitric gave the required promise, and found, on his return to Dublin, that it met with his mother's entire approbation. She then despatched him to the Isle of Man, where there were two vikings, who had thirty ships, and she desired him to obtain their co-operation at any price. They were the brothers Ospak and Brodir. The latter demanded the same conditions as the earl Siguard, which were promised quite as readily by Sitric, only he charged the viking to keep the agreement secret, and above all not to mention it to Siguard.

Brodir,¹ according to the Saga, was an apostate Christian, who had thrown off his faith, and become God's dastard. He was both tall and strong, and his long black hair, which he wore tucked under his belt, perhaps gained him the reputation of being a magician.

The viking Ospak, however, refused to fight against the good king Brian, whom he found at Kincora, where he made profession of Christianity and was baptized. The description of Brodir is taken from the Saga, the man being especially noteworthy as the slayer of Brian after the battle of Clontarf.

The author of the Wars of the Gael gives a formidable list of the other auxiliaries who were invited by the Danes of Dublin, and the Annals of Loch Cé also give an account of the fleet which they assembled and its chosen leader.

¹ It has been suggested that this was not his real name. He was Ospak's *brother*, and Brodir may have been mistaken for a proper name. There was a Danish viking named Gutring, who was an apostate deacon, and who may have been the Brodir of Irish history.

Maelmurra was too near the restless and revengeful Gormflaith to remain inactive, even had he been so inclined. He had mustered a formidable force within the city of Dublin, which he divided into three battalions. The Leinster men all followed his standard, and he was also joined by the Wexford men.

Meanwhile Brian had been scarcely less successful, and probably not less active. He now marched towards Dublin, 'with all that obeyed him of the men of Ireland.' These were the provincial troops of Munster and Connaught and the men of Meath. His march is thus described in the Wars of the Gael:—'Brian looked out behind him, and beheld the battle phalanx—compact, huge, disciplined, moving in silence, mutely, bravely, haughtily, unitedly, with one mind, traversing the plain towards them; threescore and ten banners over them—of red, and of yellow, and of green, and of all kinds of colours.'

Brian plundered and destroyed, as usual, on his way to Dublin. After he had passed Fingal and burned Kilmaham, he sent his son Donough to plunder Leinster. This part of the country was then unprotected, as its men of war had been withdrawn to garrison Dublin. The troops within that city were soon attracted by the blaze of the burnings all around the country, and they sallied forth to attack Brian on a great plain lying between the Hill of Howth and Tullaght, known then as the plain of Moynalty, or the Old Plain of the flocks of Edar, so called from a chieftain named Edar, who flourished before the Christian era.

Brian now held a council of war with his principal followers. The subject of their deliberation has not been recorded, but from the result it would appear that they had decided on giving battle in the morning. It is said that the Northmen pretended flight in order to delay the engagement. The Njal Saga says the viking Brodir had found out by his sorcery, 'that if the fight were on Good Friday, king Brian would fall, but win the day; but if they fought before, they would all fall who were against him.' Some authorities also mention a traitor in Brian's camp, who had informed the Danes that his forces had been

weakened by the absence of his son Donough, whom he had sent to devastate Leinster. Malachy has the credit of this piece of treachery, with other imputations scarcely less disreputable.

SECTION III. *The Battle of Clontarf.*

The battle of Clontarf was fought on the 23rd of April 1014. The full tide in Dublin Bay on that day coincided with sunrise,¹ and the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes and their allies.

The site of the battle has been accurately defined. It took place on the Plain of Clontarf, and is called the Battle of the Fishing Weir of Clontarf. The weir was at the mouth of the river Tolka, where the bridge of Ballybough now stands. The Danish line was extended along the coast, and protected at sea by their fleets. It was disposed in three divisions, and comprised about 21,000 men, the Leinster forces being included in the number. The first division or left wing was the nearest to Dublin. It was composed of the Danes of Dublin, and headed by Sitric, who was supported by the thousand mail-clad Norwegians commanded by Carlus and Anrud. In the centre were the Leinster men, under the command of Maelmurra. The right wing comprised the foreign auxiliaries, under the command of Brodir and Siguard.

Brian's army was also disposed in three divisions. The first was composed of his brave Dalcassians, and commanded by his son Murrugh, assisted by his four brothers, Teigue, Donough, Connor, and Flann, and his youthful heir, Turlough, who perished on the field. The second division or centre was composed of troops from Munster, and was

¹ The late lamented Dr. Todd mentions, in his *Introduction to the Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gael*, that he asked Dr. Haughton of Trinity College, Dublin, what was the hour of high water in Dublin Bay on April 23, 1014, without mentioning to him the object of the enquiry. Dr. Haughton laid the process by which he obtained the result before the Royal Academy in May 1861, and stated that the hour was 5^h 30^m A.M., and that the evening tide was full in at 5^h 55^m P.M. This would coincide with sunrise in April.

commanded by Mothla, grandson of the king of the Deisi, of Waterford, assisted by many native princes. The third battalion was commanded by Maelruanaidh (Mulrooney of the Pater Nosters) and Teigue O'Keily, with all the nobles of Connaught. Brian's army numbered about 20,000 men. The accounts which relate the position of Malachy, and his conduct on this occasion, are hopelessly conflicting. It appears quite impossible to decide whether he was a victim to prejudice, or whether Brian was a victim to his not unnatural hostility.

On the eve of the battle, one of the Danish chiefs, Plait, son of king Lochlainn, sent a challenge to Domhnall, son of Emhin, high steward of Mar. The battle commenced at daybreak. Plait came forth and exclaimed three times, '*F'aras Domhnall?*' (Where is Domhnall?) Domhnall replied, 'Here, thou reptile.' A terrible hand-to-hand combat ensued. They fell dead at the same moment, the sword of each through the heart of the other, and the hair of each in the clenched hand of the other. And the combat of those two was the first combat of the battle.

A single combat is also recorded between Corraing, Brian's nephew, and Machmurra king of Scinta; some lesser skirmishes also took place.

Before the engagement Brian harangued his troops, with the crucifix in one hand and a sword in the other. He reminded them of all they had suffered from their enemies, of their tyranny, their sacrilege, their innumerable perfidies; and then, holding the crucifix aloft, he exclaimed, 'The great God has at length looked down upon our sufferings, and endued you with the power and the courage this day to destroy for ever the tyranny of the Danes, and thus to punish them for their innumerable crimes and sacrileges by the avenging power of the sword. Was it not on this day that Christ Himself suffered death for you?'

According to the account in the Njal Saga, 'Brian would not fight on a fast day; and so a shield ring [a ring of iron holding their shields locked together] was thrown round him, and his host was drawn away in front of it.' According to the Irish Annals, he retired to his tent to

pray, being persuaded by his people not to engage in the combat, on account of his age and infirmities.

Prodigies of valour were performed on both sides, each party being fully aware that the result of the engagement would probably decide their future fate irrevocably. Murrough, Brian's eldest son, is said to have fought with two swords, one in each hand. Even the Danish historians admit that he fought his way to their standard, and cut down two successive bearers of it.

The mailed armour of the Danes seems to have been a source of no little dread to their opponents. But the Irish battle-axe might well have set even more secure protection at defiance. It was wielded with such skill and force that frequently a limb was lopped off with a single blow, despite the mail in which it was encased; while the short lances, darts, and slinging-stones proved a speedy means of decapitating or stunning a fallen enemy.

The Dalcassians surpassed themselves in feats of arms. They hastened from time to time to refresh their thirst and cool their hands in a neighbouring brook; but the Danes soon filled it up, and deprived them of this resource. It was a conflict of heroes—a hand-to-hand fight. Bravery was not wanting on either side, and for a time the result seemed doubtful. Towards the afternoon, as many of the Danish leaders were cut down, their followers began to give way, and the Irish forces prepared for a final effort. At this moment the Norwegian prince, Anrud, encountered Murrough, whose arms were paralyzed from fatigue; he had still physical strength enough to seize his enemy, fling him on the ground, and plunge his sword into the body of his prostrate foe. But even as he inflicted the death-wound, he received a mortal blow from the dagger of the Dane, and the two chiefs fell together.

In such a battle as this no individual incident, however important in itself, could have much effect. The Northmen and their allies were flying hard and fast, the one towards their ships, the others towards the city. But as they fled across the Tolka, they forgot that it was now swollen with the incoming tide, and thousands perished by water who had escaped the sword. The body of Brian's

grandson, the boy Turlough, was found in the river after the battle, with his hands entangled in the hair of two Danish warriors, whom he had held down until they were drowned. Sitric and his wife had watched the combat from the battlements of Dublin. It looked like a multitude of reapers cutting a field of oats; and the Dane attributed the slaughter to the valour of his people. 'Well do the foreigners reap the field,' he exclaimed to his wife, who, it will be remembered, was Brian's daughter; 'many a sheaf do they cut from them.' But she replied, 'The result will be seen at the end of the day.' And so it was. In a very brief space the flight of the Danes was undeniable, and Brian's daughter, whose interest seems to have been wholly with her father's followers, called her husband's attention to it, saying, 'It seems to me that the foreigners have gained their patrimony.' Her husband enquired roughly what she meant. She replied, 'Are they not rushing into the sea, which is their natural inheritance?' Sitric, maddened beyond control, gave her a blow which knocked out one of her teeth.

Meanwhile the old king was praying in his tent. When the forces met, he began his devotions, and said to his attendant: 'Watch thou the battle, and the combats, whilst I say the psalms.' After he had recited fifty psalms, fifty collects, and fifty paternosters, he desired the man to look out and inform him how the battle went, and the position of Murrough's standard. He replied that the strife was close and vigorous, and the noise was as if seven battalions were cutting down Tomar's wood; but the standard was safe. Brian then said fifty more psalms and repeated his enquiry. The attendant replied that all was in confusion, but that Murrough's standard still stood erect, and moved westward towards Dublin. 'As long as the standard remains erect,' replied Brian, 'it shall go well with the men of Erin.' Then he betook himself to his prayers again, saying for the third time fifty psalms and collects; and this concluded, he again asked intelligence of the field. His attendant replied: 'They appear as if Tomar's wood was on fire, and its brushwood all burned down;' meaning that the private soldiers of both armies were nearly all slain, and only a few of the

chiefs had escaped; adding the most grievous intelligence of all, that Murrough's standard had fallen. 'Alas!' replied Brian, 'Erin has fallen with it: why should I survive such losses, even should I attain the sovereignty of the world?' His attendant then urged him to fly, but Brian replied that flight was useless, for he had been warned of his fate by Aibinn (the banshee of his family), and that he knew his death was at hand. He then gave directions about his will and his funeral, leaving two hundred and forty cows to the 'successor of Patrick.' Even at this moment the danger was impending. A party of Danes approached, headed by Brodir. The king sprang up from the cushion where he had been kneeling, and unsheathed his sword. At first Brodir did not know him, and thought he was a priest from finding him at prayer; but one of his followers informed him that it was the monarch of Ireland. In a moment the fierce Dane had opened his head with his battle-axe. It is said that Brian had time to inflict a wound on the viking, but the details of this event are so varied, that it is impossible to decide which account is most reliable. The Saga states that Brodir knew Brian, and, proud of his exploit, held up the monarch's reeking head, exclaiming, 'Let it be told from man to man that Brodir felled Brian.' All accounts agree in stating that the viking was slain immediately, if not cruelly, by Brian's guards, who thus revenged their own neglect of their master.

The Annals state that both Brian and his son, Murrough, lived to receive the rights of the Church, and that their remains were conveyed by the monks to Swords, and from thence, through Duleek and Louth, to Armagh, by archbishop Maelmuire, the 'successor of St. Patrick.' Their obsequies were celebrated with great splendour, for twelve days and nights, by the clergy, after which the body of Brian was deposited in a stone coffin, on the north side of the high altar, in the cathedral. Murrough was buried on the south side. Turlough was interred in the old churchyard of Kilmainham, where the shaft of an ancient cross still marks the site.

After the battle the Munster clans assembled their surviving chieftains and men, and encamped on the green of

Dublin, waiting the arrival of Donough, who had been sent to plunder Leinster. He returned on the evening of Easter Sunday with a considerable cattle prey, which were immediately devoted to the use of the men. Sitric sent to demand a share, but, although his request was refused, he did not carry out his threat of attacking the camp.

On Easter Monday the survivors were employed in burying the dead and attending to the wounded. The remains of more than thirty chieftains were borne off to their respective territorial churches for interment. But even on that very night dissension arose in the camp. The chieftains of Desmond, seeing the broken condition of the Dalcassian force, renewed their claim to the alternate succession. When they had reached Rath Maisten (Mullaghmast, near Athy) they claimed the sovereignty of Munster, by demanding hostages. A battle ensued, in which even the wounded Dalcassians joined. Their leader desired them to be placed in the fort of Maisten, but they insisted on being fastened to stakes firmly planted in the ground to support them, and stuffing their wounds with moss, they awaited the charge of the enemy. The men of Ossory, intimidated by their bravery, feared to give battle. But many of the wounded men perished from exhaustion—a hundred and fifty swooned away, and never recovered consciousness again. The majority were buried where they stood; a few of the more noble were carried to their ancestral resting-places.

CHAPTER X.

EVENTS PRECEDING THE NORMAN INVASION.

A.D. 1014 to A.D. 1168.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS: The Norman Conquest of England—Election of Hildebrand as Pope Gregory VII.—The First and Second Crusades—Completion of the Domesday Book—Philip the Fair, King of France—Stephen and Henry II., Kings of England—Louis VII. of France—Remarkable Ecclesiastics: St. Malachy and St. Bernard of Clairveaux.

SECTION I. *The Last Years of the Reign of Malachy.*

MALACHY has been credited by some authors with having been secretly in league with the Danes. It is probable that truth lies between the statements of his partisans and his enemies. While he hoped to retain his position as ard-righ by courting their favour, he only acted as every other Irish prince would have done. When he was obliged to resign he did so with a fair grace, and assisted his rival against the common enemy.

Upon the death of Brian the troops under his command dispersed, and each clan returned to its own territory. But Malachy was tacitly recognised monarch, and replaced without opposition on the throne. Indeed, one of the principal annalists of the period includes the twelve years during which Brian reigned in the term allotted to Malachy. But the events of the last few years had made most important changes in the government of the country. The success which attended Brian's usurpation, and his reputation, made an important precedent for arbitrary changes. The old rule which required that the ard-righ should be elected exclusively from the descendants of Nial of the Nine

Hostages was hotly disputed, although it could claim a prescriptive right of five centuries. The provincial kings all claimed a share in the honour, Brian's assumption being their precedent, and his success their encouragement. During the century which preceded the Norman invasion of Ireland there was a continual struggle for ascendancy between the Leinster chieftains and the O'Neils, O'Connors, and O'Brians.

In the following year, 1015, Malachy made a vigorous and successful effort to complete the work of subjugating the Danes, or at least of rendering their power innocuous for the future. Assisted by the northern O'Neils, he led an army to Dublin, where he besieged the Danish fortress and all the houses outside. He then invaded Wexford, plundering the whole country, and carried off many thousand captives. The power of the Norsemen was thus entirely subdued; they continued to hold the great seaports, where, indeed, they were almost naturalised, but the idea of a complete conquest of Ireland was now finally abandoned. Bishoprics were founded soon after in the Danish towns of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, at the request of the Danes themselves, and from this period they appear to have renounced paganism entirely.

The Annals of Clonmacnois state that Malachy was the last king of Ireland of Irish blood that held the crown; but that there were seven kings after, without crowns, before the coming of the English. Malachy died in Meath, A.D. 1022, in the seventy-third year of his age. A month before his death he gained an important victory over the Danes at Athbry. An interregnum of twenty years followed, during which the country was governed by two wise men, Cuan O'Lochlann, a poet, and Corcran Cleireach, an anchorite.

After the death of Brian Boru his son Donough obtained the undisputed sovereignty of Munster. He married an English princess, Driella, the daughter of earl Godwin, and sister of Harold, afterwards king of England. During the rebellion of Godwin and his sons against Edward the Confessor, Harold was obliged to take refuge in Ireland, and remained there 'all the winter on the king's security.'

Donough had recourse to treachery to establish himself more firmly on his throne, and was the instigator of the death of his brother Teigue, who was treacherously slain at his suggestion by the people of Ely O'Carroll, A.D. 1023. After the death of his brother Teigue he marched northwards, and took hostages from Meath, Bregin, Ossory, and Leinster, as a step towards asserting his claim to the sovereignty of all Ireland; but he had a formidable opponent in Dermot Mac Mael-na-mbo, king of Leinster. Strange to say, though he had the guilt of fratricide on his conscience, he assembled the clergy and chieftains of Munster at Killaloe in the year 1050, to pass laws for the protection of life and property—a famine, which occurred at this time, making such precautions of the first necessity. In 1063, his nephew, Turlough, avenged the death of Teigue, in a battle, wherein Donough was defeated. After his reverse he went on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he died in the following year, after doing penance for his brother's murder. The Annals say that 'he died under the victory of penance, in the monastery of Stephen the Martyr.' Dermot Mac Mael-na-mbo was killed in battle by the king of Meath, A.D. 1072, and Turlough O'Brien, consequently, was regarded as his successor to the monarchy of Ireland. Turlough, as usual, commenced by taking hostages, but he found serious opposition from the northern Hy-Nials. His principal opponents were the MacLoughlins of Aileach, and the O'Melaghlin of Meath. In 1079 O'Brien invaded the territory of Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, expelled him from his kingdom, and plundered it as far as Croagh Patrick. Next year he led an army to Dublin, and received the submission of the men of Meath, appointing his son Murtough lord of the Danes of Dublin. The Annals of the Four Masters give a curious account of O'Brien's death. They say that the head of Connor O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, was taken from the church of Clonmacnois and brought to Thomond by his order. When the king took the head in his hand a mouse ran out of it, and the shock was so great that 'he fell ill of a sore disease by the miracles (intervention) of St. Ciaran.' This happened on the night of Good Friday. The day of the

resurrection (Easter Sunday) the head was restored, with two rings of gold as a peace-offering. But Turlough never recovered from the effects of his fright, and lingered on in bad health until the year 1086, when he died. He is called the 'modest Turlough' in the Annals, for what special reason does not appear. It is also recorded, that he performed 'intense penance for his sins'—a grace which the kings and princes of Ireland seem often to have needed, and, if we may believe the Annals, always to have obtained.

A period of anarchy ensued, during which several princes contended for royal honours. This compliment was finally awarded to O'Loughlin, king of Aileach, and a temporary peace ensued. Its continuance was brief. In 1095 there was a pestilence all over Europe, 'and some say that the fourth part of the men of Ireland died of the malady.' A long list is given of its victims, lay and ecclesiastical. Several severe winters are recorded as having preceded this fatal event; probably they were its remote cause. In the year 1096, the festival of St. John Baptist fell on Friday. This event caused general consternation, in consequence of some old prophecy. A synod of the clergy of Ireland, with the successor of St. Patrick¹ at their head, enjoined a general abstinence from Wednesday to Sunday every month, with other penitential observances; and 'the men of Ireland were saved for that time from the fire of vengeance.'

But the most important event of the period was the contention between the northern and southern Hy-Nials. Murtough was planning, with great military ability, to obtain the supreme rule. The archbishop of Armagh and the clergy strove twice to avert hostilities, but their interference was almost ineffectual. A year's peace was all they could obtain. In the year 1100, Murtough brought a Danish fleet against the northerns, but they were cut off by O'Loughlin, by killing or drowning. He also assembled an army at Assaroe, near Ballyshannon, with the choice

¹ This expression occurs frequently in the Annals, from the earliest period, whenever the primate of Ireland is mentioned.

part of the men of Ireland, but the Cinel-Connaill defended their country bravely, and compelled him to retire 'without booty, without hostages, without pledges.' In 1101, when the twelvemonths' truce obtained by the clergy had expired, Murtough collected a powerful army, and devastated the north, without opposition. He demolished the palace of the Hy-Nials, called the Grianan of Aileach, near Londonderry. This was an act of revenge for a similar raid, committed a few years before, on the stronghold of the O'Briens, at Kincora, by O'Loughlin. So determined was he on devastation, that he commanded a stone to be carried away from the building in each of the sacks which had contained provisions for the army. He then took hostages of Ulidia, and returned to the south, having completed the circuit of Ireland in six weeks. The expedition was called 'the circuitous hosting.' His rather original method of razing a palace is commemorated in the following quatrain:—

I never heard of the billeting of grit stones,
Though I heard [*sic*] of the billeting of companies,
Until the stones of Aileach were billeted
On the horses of the king of the west.

Murtough appears to have been a not unusual compound of piety and profanity. We read in one place of his reckless exploits in burning churches and desecrating shrines, and in others of his liberal endowments of the same.

The Danes had now settled quietly in the mercantile towns which they had mainly contributed to form, and expended all their energies on commerce instead of war; but the new generation of Northmen, who had not yet visited Ireland, could not so easily relinquish the old project of conquering it. About the year 1101, Magnus planned an expedition to effect this purpose. He arrived in Dublin the following year; a 'hosting of the men of Ireland came to oppose him;' but they made peace with him for one year, and Murtough gave his daughter in marriage to his son Sigurd 'with many jewels and gifts.' The year 1103 was distinguished for sanguinary conflicts. Murtagh Drun was killed on a predatory excursion in Moycova. Raynal O'Hagan, lawgiver of Felach Og, was slain by the men of

Moyitha. There was a 'great war' between the Cinel-Eoghain and the Ulidians; and Murtough O'Brien, with the men of Munster, Leinster, and Ossory, the chiefs of Connaught, and the men of Meath and their kings, proceeded to Moycova, now Donaghmore, co. Down, to relieve the Ulidians. When the men of Munster 'were wearied,' Murtough proceeded to Armagh, and left eight ounces of gold upon the altar, and promised eightscore cows. The northern Hy-Nials then attacked the camp of the Leinster men, and a spirited battle was fought. The Cinel-Eoghain and Cinel-Connaill returned victoriously and triumphantly to their forts, with valuable jewels and much wealth, together with the royal tent, the standard, and jewels.

Magnus, king of Lochlann and the Isles, was slain by the Ulidians this year.

When Harold returned to England, his brother-in-law, Donough, lent him nine ships; and we find the Irish affording assistance in several other feuds of the Anglo-Saxons of this period. A deputation of the nobles of Man and other islands visited Dublin, and waited on Murtough O'Brien to solicit a king. He sent his nephew, Donnell; but he was soon expelled on account of his tyranny. Another Donnell O'Brien, his cousin, was, at the same time, lord of the Danes in Dublin. In 1114 Murtough O'Brien was obliged to resign the crown, in consequence of ill-health; the Annals say that he became a living skeleton. His brother, Dermot, took advantage of this circumstance to declare himself king of Munster. This obliged Murtough to resume the reins of government, and put himself at the head of his army. He succeeded in making Dermot prisoner, but eventually he was obliged to resign the kingdom to him, and retired into the monastery of Lismore, where he died in 1119. The Annals call him the prop of the glory and magnificence of the western world. In the same year Nial Mac Lochlann, royal heir of Aileach and of Ireland, fell by the Cinel-Moain, in the twenty-eighth year of his age. He was the 'paragon of Ireland, for personal form, sense, hospitality, and learning.' The chief Ollav of Ireland was killed by the men of Lug and Tooragh, with his wife, 'two very good sons,' and five-and-thirty

persons in one house, on the Saturday before Little Easter. The cause of this outrage is not mentioned. The Annals of the Four Masters and the Annals of Ulster record the same event, and mention that he was distinguished for charity, hospitality, and universal benevolence.

Donnell O'Loughlin died in 1121, in the monastery of St. Columba, at Derry. He is styled king of Ireland, although the power of his southern rival preponderated during the greater part of his reign. In 1118 Rory O'Connor died in the monastery of Clonmacnois. He had been blinded some years previously by the O'Flaherties. This cruel custom was sometimes practised to prevent the succession of an obnoxious person, as freedom from every blemish was a *sine quâ non* in Ireland for a candidate to royal honours. Teigue MacCarthy, king of Desmond, died, 'after penance,' at Cashel, A.D. 1124. From the time of Murtough O'Brien's illness, Turlough O'Connor, son of the prince who had been blinded, comes prominently forward in Irish history. His object was to exalt the Eoghanists or Desmonian family, who had been virtually excluded from the succession since the time of Brian Boru. In 1116 he plundered Thomond as far as Limerick. In 1118 he led an army as far as Glanmire (county Cork), and divided Munster, giving Desmond to MacCarthy, and Thomond to the sons of Dermot O'Brien. He then marched to Dublin, and took hostages from the Danes, releasing Donnell, son of the king of Meath, whom they had in captivity. The following year he sailed down the Shannon with a fleet, and destroyed the royal palace of Kincora, hurling its stones and timber beams into the river. He then devoted himself to wholesale plundering, and expelled his late ally and father-in-law from Meath, ravaging the country from Tralee to the sanctuary lands of Lismore. In 1126 he bestowed the kingdom of Dublin on his son Cormac. In 1127 he drove Cormac MacCarthy from his kingdom, and divided Munster in three parts. In fact, there was such a storm of war throughout the whole country, that St. Celsus was obliged to interfere. He spent a month and a year trying to establish peace, and promulgating rules and good customs in every district, among the laity and clergy. His efforts to teach 'good rules and

manners' seem to have been scarcely effectual, for we find an immediate entry of the decapitation of Ruaidhri, after he had made a 'treacherous prey' in Aictheara. In 1128 St. Celsus made a year's peace between the men of Munster and Connaught. In 1129 the great church of Clonmacnois was robbed of some of its greatest treasures. Amongst these was a model of Solomon's Temple, presented by a prince of Meath, and a silver chalice burnished with gold, which had been engraved by a sister of king Turlough O'Connor—an evidence that the ladies of Ireland were by no means behind the age in taste and refinement.

After the death of Donnell O'Loughlin, Turlough had full scope for the exercise of his ambitious projects; but in 1131 he found serious opposition from Connor O'Brien, who had succeeded his father, Dermod, on the throne of Munster. Connor now carried off hostages from Leinster and Meath, and defeated the cavalry of Connaught. The following year he sent a fleet to the western coast of Ireland. Eventually Turlough O'Connor was glad to make a truce with his opponents. In 1134 the consecration of a church at Cashel was celebrated. This is still known as Cormac's Chapel, and was long supposed to have been erected by the more ancient monarch of that name. But the good king was soon after treacherously slain in his own house, by Turlough O'Connor and the two sons of the O'Connor of Kerry. Turlough was unquestionably somewhat Spartan in his severities, if not Draconian in his administration of justice. In 1136 he put out the eyes of his own son, Hugh, and in the same year he imprisoned another son, named Roderic. The nature of their offences is not manifest; but Roderic was liberated through the interference of the clergy. Some years after he was again imprisoned for violation of the most solemn pledges and guarantees.

SECTION II. *Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster.*

The history of Dermot MacMurrough is one of special interest and importance, being so directly connected with the English invasion. This prince was king of Leinster,

and signalised himself by acts of treachery and sacrilege from the very commencement of his reign. In the year 1135 he took the abbess of the famous monastery of Kildare from her cloisters to please one of his followers. The people of the town came to the rescue of the religious, but without success, for a hundred and fifty of them were killed by Dermot's soldiers. His next exploit was a barbarous attack on some of his own nobles who had attempted to resist his tyrannies. He killed Donnell, lord of Hy Faclin, and Murtough O'Toole, and put out the eyes of Muirkertach, chief of Wicklow, and seventeen other lords, and performed the same act of barbarity on many persons of lesser rank.

All the petty kings and princes of Ireland were engaged in war at this period, either with each other or with their own clans. Conor O'Brien died at Killaloe in 1142, and was succeeded by his brother Murtough, who at once commenced his reign by a war with Turlough O'Conor and an invasion of Leinster. The history of this period is, indeed, a simple chronicle of feuds between the native princes, and the most impartial historian would find it difficult to say which of the belligerents was the least guilty.

In 1152 Meath was divided by the ard-righ O'Loughlin between the O'Melaghlin, and Tiernan O'Rourke, lord of Breffny, was dispossessed of his territory. About the same time his wife, Dervorgil, was carried off by Mac Murrough, king of Leinster. There is some question as to the exact date of her abduction, but there is no doubt that it was the immediate cause of the English invasion. Dervorgil was encouraged in her flight by her brother, the king of Meath. She took the cattle which had formed her dowry with her; but in the following year she was compelled to return to her family by Turlough O'Conor.

Dermot Mac Murrough was generally detested, and is said to have treated Dervorgil very harshly before her elopement. On the death of O'Loughlin Roderic O'Conor obtained the sovereign power, such as it was. He was a warm ally of Dermot's old enemy, O'Rourke, who, as he had anticipated, formed an alliance against him, and, with the aid of several other princes and chieftains, obliged him to fly the country.

CHAPTER XI.

RELIGION—LAWS—ARCHITECTURE—DRESS AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE EIGHTH, NINTH, TENTH, AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

SECTION I. *Ecclesiastical Affairs.*

THE Danes having plundered and destroyed most of the Irish monasteries, a great falling off in piety and learning is the principal characteristic of this period. Some attempts, however, were made at reform during the two centuries immediately preceding the Norman invasion.

Early in the tenth century some Irish monks settled at Glastonbury, where they devoted themselves to the instruction of youth, and where St. Dunstan became one of their most illustrious pupils. St. Maccallin, who founded a school in France; and Duncan, who governed the monastery of St. Remigius at Rheims, wrote books which are still preserved. Marianus Scotus, whose chronicles are considered the most perfect compositions of their times, was teaching at Cologne. St. Fingen, who succeeded St. Cadroe as abbot of the monastery of St. Felix at Metz, was invested with the government of the monastery of St. Symphorian in that city. It was then ordered by the bishop that none but Irish monks should be received into his house, unless their supply failed. In 975 the monastery of St. Martin, near Cologne, was made over to the Irish monks in perpetuity. The obituaries of several saints also occur at the close of the tenth and commencement of the eleventh centuries. Amongst these we find St. Duncheadh, abbot of Clonmacnois, who is said to have been the last Irish saint who raised the dead. St. Aedh (Hugh) died in the year 1004,

‘after a good life, at Ard-Macha, with great honour and veneration.’ And in the year 1018 we have the mortuary record of St. Gormgal, of Ardvilean, the remains of whose humble oratory and cloghan cell are still to be seen on that rocky island, amid the surges of the Atlantic off the coast of Connemara.

In the year 1111 a synod was convened at Fídh Aengussa, or Aengus Grove, near the Hill of Uisneach, in Westmeath. It was attended by fifty bishops, three hundred priests, and three thousand religious. Murtough O’Brien was also permitted to be present, and some of the nobles of his province. The object of the synod was to institute rules of life and manners for the clergy and people. St. Celsus, the archbishop of Armagh, and Maelduire (the servant of Mary), archbishop of Cashel, were present.

Lanfranc, the great archbishop of Canterbury, had already noticed the state of the Irish Church. He was in constant communication with the Danish bishops, who had received consecration from him; and their accounts were probably true in the main, however coloured by prejudice. He wrote an earnest epistle to Turlough O’Brien, whom he addresses respectfully as king of Ireland, and whose virtues as a Christian prince he highly commends. His principal object appears to have been to draw the king’s attention to an abuse, of which the Danes had informed him, with regard to the sacrament of matrimony. This subject shall be noticed again. Pope Gregory VII. also wrote to Turlough, but principally on the temporal authority of the Holy See.

The synod had four special subjects for consideration: (1) First, to regulate the number of bishops—which had been unduly multiplied from the custom of creating chor-episcopi or rural bishops. It was now decided that there should be but twenty-four dioceses—twelve for the northern and twelve for the southern half of Ireland. Cashel was also recognised as an archiepiscopal see, and the successor of St. Jarlath was sometimes called archbishop of Connaught. The custom of lay appropriations, which had obtained in some places, was also firmly denounced. This was an intolerable abuse. St. Celsus, the archbishop of Armagh, though him-

self a member of the family who had usurped this office, made a special provision in his will that he should be succeeded by St. Malachy. This saint obtained a final victory over the sacrilegious innovators, but not without much personal suffering.

The (2) second abuse which was now noticed, referred to the sacrament of matrimony. The Irish were accused of abandoning their lawful wives and taking others, of marrying within the degrees of consanguinity, and it was said that in Dublin wives were even exchanged. Usher, in commenting on the passage in Lanfranc's letter which refers to these gross abuses, observes that the custom of discarding wives was prevalent among the Anglo-Saxons and in Scotland. The canons of St. Patrick, which were always respected by the native Irish, forbade such practices; and the synod, therefore, had only to call on the people to observe the laws of the Church more strictly.

Two other subjects, (3) one regarding the consecration of bishops, the other (4) referring to the ceremonies of baptism, were merely questions of ecclesiastical discipline, and as such were easily arranged by competent authority. St. Anselm, in his correspondence with the prelates of the south of Ireland, passes a high eulogium on their zeal and piety, while he deploras certain relaxations of discipline, which they were as anxious to reform as he could desire.

St. Celsus appointed St. Malachy his successor in the archiepiscopal see of Armagh. Malachy had been educated by the abbot Imar O'Hagan, who presided over the great schools of that city; and the account given of his early training sufficiently manifests the ability of his gifted instructor, and the high state of intellectual culture which existed in Ireland. While still young, St. Malachy undertook the restoration of the famous abbey of Bangor. Here he erected a small oratory of wood, and joined himself to a few devoted men who desired the perfection of a religious life. He was soon after elected bishop of Connor. With the assistance of some of his faithful monks, he restored what war and rapine had destroyed; and was proceeding peacefully and successfully in his noble work, when he was

driven from his diocese by a hostile prince. He now fled to Cormac Mac Carthy, king of Desmond, but he was not permitted to remain there long. After he had compelled the lay intruders to leave the diocese of Armagh he was permitted to resign, and was succeeded by Gelasius, then abbot of the great Columbian monastery of Derry.

St. Malachy was now appointed bishop of Down, to which his old see of Connor was united. He had long a desire to visit Rome, as such devotional pilgrimages were usual with the Irish from the earliest period; and he was specially anxious to obtain a formal recognition of the archiepiscopal sees in Ireland, by the granting of palliums. On his way to the Holy City he visited St. Bernard at Clairvaux, and thus commenced and cemented the friendship which forms so interesting a feature in the lives of the French and Irish saints. It is probable that his account of the state of the Irish Church took a tinge of gloom from the heavy trials he had endured in his efforts to remove its temporary abuses. St. Bernard's ardent and impetuous character, even his very affectionateness, would lead him also to look darkly on the picture: hence the somewhat over-coloured accounts he has given of its state at that eventful period. St. Malachy returned to Ireland after an interview with the reigning pontiff, Pope Innocent II. His Holiness had received him with open arms, and appointed him apostolical legate; but he declined to give the palliums, until they were formally demanded by the Irish prelates.

In virtue of his legatine power, the saint assembled local synods in several places. He rebuilt and restored many churches; and in 1142 he built the famous Cistercian abbey of Mellifont, near Drogheda. This monastery was liberally endowed by O'Carroll, king of Oriel, and was peopled by Irish monks, whom St. Malachy had sent to Clairvaux, to be trained in the Benedictine rule and observances. But his great act was the convocation of the synod of Inis Padraig. It was held in the year 1148. St. Malachy presided as legate of the Holy See; fifteen bishops, two hundred priests, and some religious were present at the deliberations, which lasted for four days. The members of the synod were unwilling that Malachy should leave Ireland

again; but Eugene III., who had been a Cistercian monk, was visiting Clairvaux, and it was hoped he might grant the favour there. The pope had left the abbey before the arrival of the saint, who, in a few days after, was seized with mortal sickness, and died on the 2nd of November 1148. His remains were interred at Clairvaux. His feast was changed from the 2nd of November, All Souls, to the 3rd, by 'the seniors,' that he might be the more easily revered and honoured.

In 1151 cardinal Paparo arrived in Ireland with the palliums which had been solicited by St. Malachy. The insignia of dignity were conferred the following year, at the council of Kells. Tithes were then introduced for the first time in Ireland, but they were not enforced until after the English invasion.

In 1157 a synod was held in the abbey of Mellifont, attended by the bishop of Lismore, legate of the Holy See, the primate, and seventeen other bishops. Murtough O'Loughlin, the monarch of Ireland, and several other kings, were also present. The principal object of this meeting was the consecration of the abbey church and the excommunication of Donough O'Melaghlin, who had become the common pest of the country. He was, as might be expected, the particular friend and ally of Dermot Mac Murrrough. His last exploit was the murder of a neighbouring chief, despite the most solemn pledges. In an old translation of the Annals of Ulster he is termed, with more force than elegance, 'a cursed atheist.' After his excommunication his brother Dermot was made king of Meath in his place.

At this synod several rich gifts were made to the abbey. O'Carroll, prince of Oriel, presented sixty ounces of gold. O'Loughlin made a grant of lands, gave one hundred and forty cows and sixty ounces of gold.

In 1162 St. Laurence O'Toole was chosen to succeed Greine, or Gregory, the Danish archbishop of Dublin. He belonged to one of the most noble ancient families of Leinster. His father was chieftain of the district of Hy-Muirahy, a portion of the present county Kildare. St. Laurence had chosen the ecclesiastical state early in

life; at the age of twenty-five he was chosen abbot of St. Kevin's monastery, at Glendalough. The Danish bishop of Dublin had been consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury, but the saint received the episcopal office from the successor of St. Patrick. A synod was held at Clane the year of his consecration; it was attended by twenty-six prelates and many other ecclesiastics. The college of Armagh was then virtually raised to the rank of a university, as it was decreed that no one, who had not been an alumnus of Armagh, should be appointed lector or professor of theology in any of the diocesan schools in Ireland.

SECTION II. *Laws.—The Ceremony of Inauguration.*

The Brehon laws still continued in force; they have been described already. The ceremony of inaugurating the principal chieftain of each province was practised from so early a period that the origin of the custom has never been clearly ascertained. If its origin could be traced, it would probably throw considerable light upon the subject of the early colonisation of Ireland. A similar custom is said to have existed in Carinthia. The office of chieftain, or head of the clan, was conferred electively on the 'best and worthiest of the clan.' Each tribe had a special site where, from time immemorial, the ceremony of inauguration was performed. A chair of rock, rudely placed together, showed the antiquity of the custom. In this the chieftain was enthroned, and certain men of the tribe had the exclusive right of performing the necessary ceremonies; such as the placing of a shoe or sandal on the foot of the chieftain, and the presentation to him of a white rod. The white rod was symbolical of the chieftain's power, and supposed to indicate the facility with which he should be able to govern his tribe. The placing of the sandal on his foot by the next in rank to him was indicative of the submission of the people. This sandal was in turn placed on the foot of the Ard-Righ, a chief monarch, at some subsequent period, by the new chieftain. Anciently these ceremonies are said to have been superintended by the

Druids ; at a later period the priests were generally present, and recited litanies and prayers. It will be remembered, that it was customary with the Jews to draw off or put on a shoe as a legal act, and also that the Judges were distinguished by the use of white wands. The custom is unquestionably of eastern origin. The celebrated hill fort of Tullaghogue, where the O'Neils were inaugurated, is still in existence, but the stone chair of state on which the ceremony was performed was destroyed by Sir Arthur Chichester in 1602.

SECTION III.

Domestic, Military, and Religious Architecture.

There was probably but little change in the domestic architecture of the native Irish up to this period. The Annals make frequent mention of the pits and crannoges as the ordinary habitations of the people. The Danes, however, had built or enlarged several of the seaport towns. They also erected towers for the protection of their cities, and notably that called Reginald's Tower, in Waterford, which is still in existence.

Stone churches began to be erected at the beginning of the tenth century, and the use of lead for roofing was also introduced ; but this subject will be treated of more fully at the close of the Norman period. The art of statuary was generally practised, but the Irish did not excel in this department.

SECTION IV. *Coinage, Trade, and Social Customs.*

It has been disputed whether the Irish coined money or not previous to the Danish invasion. The earliest Danish coins struck in Ireland, as far as we at present know, are those of Filric III., A.D. 989, but there are coins attributed to Donald O'Neil in 956, and others attributed to Ered, king of Meath, in 922. The pennies of the Irish were bracteate pieces of seven grains' weight, and the name *penning* or *pinginn* applied to them appears to have been derived from the Saxons, though the Celtic coin differed in weight and

thickness from the Saxon *penning*. Cattle were, however, the great medium of barter, and occasionally gold rings, which were also used as bracelets. Dress, food, and domestic customs probably continued much the same until after the Norman invasion, when different customs were introduced amongst the upper classes.



FOURTH, OR NORMAN PERIOD.

FROM A.D. 1169 TO A.D. 1509.



PRINCIPAL EVENTS.

DERMOT MAC MURROUGH SEEKS THE ASSISTANCE OF HENRY II.
TO ENABLE HIM TO RECOVER HIS KINGDOM—ARRIVAL OF
STRONGBOW—HIS MARRIAGE WITH EVA MAC MURROUGH—
VISIT OF PRINCE JOHN TO IRELAND—GRADUAL ESTABLISH-
MENT OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN NOBLES IN IRELAND—
THE NATIVE PRINCES DRIVEN GRADUALLY FROM THEIR
POSSESSIONS—FEUDS BETWEEN THE BURKES OR DE BURGOS,
AND THE GERALDINES OR FITZGERALDS—RISE OF THE
BUTLER FAMILY—THE FAMOUS EARL OF KILDARE VISITS
HENRY VII.



CHAPTER XII.

A.D. 1168 TO A.D. 1176.

SECTION I.

Dermot MacMurrough asks the assistance of Henry II. to recover his petty kingdom, from which he was expelled.

THE period of Irish History of which we now treat at present is most important and full of interest, because here we find the first link in the chain by which Ireland was united to the British dominions. When Dermot fled to Henry II. for assistance no one could have foreseen what great results would follow. Still, there is evidence, that for some short time previous to this event the English monarchs had looked anxiously across the Channel, and hoped at some time to annex the island which lay so near them to their other dominions.

Henry II. inherited Anjou and Lorraine from his father, and Normandy and Maine from his brother. He had married Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis of France. Through her he acquired seven provinces; hence he possessed more territorial authority in France than the monarch of that country. At the very commencement of his reign he had obtained a bull from Pope Adrian IV., granting him the right 'to enter the island of Ireland, to subject its people to obedience of laws, to eradicate the seeds of vice, and also to make every house pay the annual tribute of one penny to the blessed Peter, and preserve the rights of the Church of that land whole and entire.' There can be no doubt whatever of the authenticity of this bull. It is quite evident, however, that the state of Ireland at that

period was represented in the very worst light to the Holy See for the purpose of obtaining it. But there can be no question that, both morally and religiously, the state of the people had deteriorated greatly. Many of the monastic houses had been destroyed by the Danes, and many more had been destroyed by the Irish chiefs themselves in their domestic wars. These wars also were, as such wars must always be, a source of national deterioration.

Henry was too much occupied with his own affairs to attempt an invasion of Ireland, and it is impossible to conjecture how long this attempt might have been deferred if Dermot had not appealed to him for assistance. The bull was granted in A.D. 1155. In the year 1168 Dermot fled from Ireland to Bristol, where he hoped to find Henry, but the king was then in Aquitaine, and thither the Irish chieftain followed. Dermot only asked for assistance to recover his kingdom, from which he had been expelled, and it cannot be ascertained how much or how little he told the English monarch of the circumstances. Henry granted his request without a moment's hesitation, and in return for the subjoined letter, in which he took him 'into the bosom of his grace and benevolence,' he only required that he should pay a vassal's homage for his own estates. The royal letter ran thus:—'Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to all his liegemen, English, Norman, Welsh and Scotch, and to all the nation under his dominion, sends greeting. As soon as the present letter shall come to your hands, know that Dermot, prince of Leinster, has been received into the bosom of our grace and benevolence: wherefore, whosoever, within the ample extent of our territories, shall be willing to lend aid towards this prince as our faithful and liege subject, let such person know that we do hereby grant to him for said purpose our licence and favour.' It is remarkable that there is no allusion in this letter to the bull of Adrian, and in whatever light we may view this omission, it is certainly inexplicable.

For some time Dermot failed in his efforts to obtain assistance. After some fruitless negotiations with the needy and lawless adventurers who thronged the port of

Bristol, he applied to the earl of Pembroke, Richard de Clare. This nobleman had obtained the name of Strongbow, by which he is more generally known, from his skill in archery. Two other young men of rank joined the party; they were the sons of the beautiful and infamous Nesta, once the mistress of Henry I., but now the wife of Gerald, governor of Pembroke and lord of Carew. The knights were Maurice FitzGerald and Robert FitzStephen. Dermot had promised them the city of Wexford and two cantreds of land as their reward. Strongbow was to succeed him on the throne of Leinster, and to receive the hand of his young and beautiful daughter, Eva, in marriage.

There is considerable uncertainty as to the real date and the precise circumstances of Dermot's arrival in Ireland. According to one account, he returned at the close of the year 1168, and concealed himself during the winter in a monastery of Augustinian canons at Ferns, which he had founded. The two principal authorities are Giraldus Cambrensis and Maurice Regan; the latter was Dermot Mac Murrough's secretary. According to his account, Robert FitzStephen landed at Bannow, near Waterford, in May 1169, with an army of three hundred archers, thirty knights, and sixty men-at-arms. A second detachment arrived the next day, headed by Maurice de Prendergast, a Welsh gentleman, with ten knights and sixty archers. Dermot at once assembled his men, and joined his allies. He could only muster five hundred followers; but with their united forces, such as they were, the outlawed king and the needy adventurers laid siege to the city of Wexford. The brave inhabitants of this mercantile town at once set forth to meet them; but, fearing the result if attacked in open field by well-disciplined troops, they fired the suburbs, and entrenched themselves in the town. Next morning the assaulting party prepared for a renewal of hostilities, but the clergy of Wexford advised an effort for peace: terms of capitulation were negotiated, and Dermot was obliged to pardon, when he would probably have preferred to massacre. It is said that FitzStephen burned his little fleet, to show his followers that they must conquer or die. Two cantreds of land, comprising the present baronies

of Forth and Bargo were bestowed on him, and thus the first English colony was established in Ireland.

SECTION II. *The Arrival of Strongbow.*

The Irish princes at first took but little notice of the new comers. The Annals say they 'set nothing by the Flemings.' Roderic, the reigning monarch, was not the man either to foresee danger, or to meet it when foreseen; though we might pardon even a more sharp-sighted and vigilant warrior, for overlooking the possible consequence of the invasion of a few mercenary troops, whose only object appeared to be the reinstatement of a petty king.

Dermot Mac Murrrough soon found himself at the head of three thousand men, and as he did not meet with any opposition, he determined to act on the offensive.

He marched into the adjoining territory of Ossory, and made war on its chief, Donough FitzPatrick; and after a brave but unsuccessful resistance, it submitted to his rule. The Irish monarch was at length aroused to some degree of apprehension. He summoned a hosting of the men of Ireland at Tara; and with the army thus collected, assisted by the lords of Meath, Oriel, Ulidia, Breffni, and some northern chieftains, he at once proceeded to Dublin. Dermot was alarmed, and retired to Ferns. Roderic pursued him thither. But dissension had already broken out in the Irish camp: the Ulster chiefs returned home; the contingent was weakened; and, either through fear, or from the natural indolence of his pacific disposition, he agreed to acknowledge Mac Murrrough's authority. Mac Murrrough gave his son Cormac as hostage for the fulfilment of the treaty. A private agreement was entered into between the two kings, in which Dermot pledged himself to dismiss his foreign allies as soon as possible, and to bring no more strangers into the country. It is more than probable that he had not the remotest idea of fulfilling his promise; it is at least certain that he broke it the first moment it was his interest to do so. Dermot's object was simply to gain time, and in this he succeeded.

Maurice FitzGerald arrived at Wexford a few days after,

and the recreant king at once proceeded to meet him; and with this addition to his army, marched to attack Dublin. The Dano-Celts, who inhabited this city, had been so cruelly treated by him, that they dreaded a repetition of his former tyrannies. They had elected a governor for themselves, but resistance was useless. After a brief struggle, they were obliged to sue for peace—a favour which probably would not have been granted without further massacres and burnings, had not Dermot wished to bring his arms to bear in another quarter.

Donnell O'Brien, prince of Thomond, who had married a daughter of Dermot, had just rebelled against Roderic, and the former was but too willing to assist him in his attempt. Thus encouraged where he should have been treated with contempt, and hunted down with ignominy, his ambition became boundless. He played out the favourite game of traitors; and no doubt hoped, when he had consolidated his own power, that he could easily expel his foreign allies. Strongbow had not yet arrived, though the winds had been long enough 'at east and easterly.'

Giraldus Cambrensis takes to himself the credit of having advised the despatch of a letter to him. He gives a copy of this document, which was probably his own composition, as it is written in the bombastic style in which he wrote the praises of his own family. The letter commences thus: 'We have watched the storks and swallows; the summer birds have come and gone,' &c. It is not likely that Dermot knew how to write; and if he did, he would scarcely have written in this fashion.

Strongbow's position was a critical one, and this was the real cause of his delay. Henry and his barons were never on very good terms, and there were some special reasons why he should prove no exception to this rule.

The first member of the earl's family who had settled in England was Richard, son of the Norman earl Brien, a direct descendant of Robert 'the Devil,' duke of Normandy, father of William the Conqueror. In return for services at the battle of Hastings, and general assistance in conquering the English, this family obtained a large grant of land in England, and took the title of earl of Clare from one of

their ninety-five lordships in Suffolk. The Strongbow family appears to have inherited from their viking ancestors a passion for making raids on neighbouring lands. Strongbow's father had obtained his title of earl of Pembroke, and his property in the present county of that name, from his successful marauding expedition in Wales, in 1138. But as he revolted against Stephen, his lands were seized by that king; and after his death, in 1148, his son succeeded to his very numerous titles, without any property commensurate thereto. Richard was not in favour with his royal master, who probably was jealous of the earl, despite his poverty; but as Strongbow did not wish to lose the little he had in England, or the chance of obtaining more in Ireland, he proceeded at once to the court, then held in Normandy, and asked permission for his new enterprise. Henry's reply was so carefully worded, that he could declare afterwards he either had or had not given the permission, whichever version of the interview might eventually prove most convenient to the royal interests. Strongbow took the interpretation which suited his own views, and proceeded to the scene of action with as little delay as possible. He arrived in Ireland, according to the most generally received account, on the vigil of St. Bartholomew, A.D. 1170, and landed at Dundonnell, near Waterford. His uncle, Hervey de Montmarisco, had already arrived, and established himself in a temporary fort, where he had been attacked by the brave citizens of Wexford. But the besieged maintained their position, killed five hundred men, and made prisoners of seventy of the principal citizens of Waterford. Large sums of money were offered for their ransom, but in vain. They were cruelly murdered by the English soldiers, who first broke their limbs, and then hurled them from a precipice into the sea.

Meanwhile, Strongbow had been collecting forces in South Wales; but, as he was on the very eve of departure, he received a peremptory order from Henry, forbidding him to leave the kingdom. After a brief hesitation he determined to bid defiance to the royal mandate, and set sail for Ireland. The day after his arrival he laid siege to Waterford. The citizens behaved like heroes, and twice

repulsed their assailants; but their bravery could not save them in the face of overpowering numbers. A breach was made in the wall; the besiegers poured in; and a merciless massacre followed. Dermot arrived while the conflict was at its height, and for once he has the credit of interfering on the side of mercy. Reginald, a Danish lord, and O'Phelan, prince of the Deisi, were about to be slain by their captors, but at his request they were spared, and the general carnage was suspended. For the sake of common humanity one could wish to think that this was an act of mercy. But unfortunately for his character, we are obliged to refer his interference to very different motives. He had already arranged a marriage between his daughter Eva and the Norman earl, and he was anxious that the nuptials should be solemnised with as little delay as possible. This connection, indeed, was the only security which he had for himself, since, without this bond of union, Strongbow might not have kept faith with him when his authority became established in Ireland.

The ceremony was performed in Waterford on the day after the massacre, and the wedding *cortège* passed over the bleeding bodies of the dying and the dead. Immediately after the ceremony, the army set out for Dublin. Roderic had collected a large force near Clondalkin, and Hosculf, the Danish governor of the city, encouraged by their presence, had again revolted against Dermot. The English army having learned that the woods and defiles between Wexford and Dublin were well guarded, had made forced marches along the mountains, and succeeded in reaching the capital long before they were expected. Their decision and military skill alarmed the inhabitants—they might also have heard reports of the massacres at Wexford; be this as it may, they determined to negotiate for peace, and commissioned their illustrious archbishop, St. Laurence O'Toole, to make terms with Dermot. While the discussion was pending, two of the English leaders, Raymond *le Gros* and Miles de Cogan, obtained an entrance into the city, and commenced a merciless butchery of the inhabitants. When the archbishop returned he heard cries of misery and groans of agony in all quarters, and it was not without

difficulty that he succeeded in appeasing the fury of the soldiers, and the rage of the people, who had been so basely treated.

The Four Masters accuse the people of Dublin of having attempted to purchase their own safety at the expense of the national interests, and say that 'a miracle was wrought against them' as a judgment for their selfishness. Hosculf, the Danish governor, fled to the Orkneys, with some of the principal citizens, and Roderic withdrew his forces to Meath, to support O'Rourke, on whom he had bestowed a portion of that territory. Miles de Cogan was invested with the government of Dublin, and Dermot marched to Meath, to attack Roderic and O'Rourke, against whom he had an old grudge of the worst and bitterest kind. He had injured him by carrying off his wife, Dervorgil, and men generally hate most bitterly those whom they have injured most cruelly.

Meanwhile MacCarthy of Desmond had attacked and defeated the English garrison at Waterford, but without any advantageous results. Roderic's weakness now led him to perpetrate an act of cruelty, although it could scarcely be called unjust according to the ideas of the times. It will be remembered that he had received hostages from Dermot for the treaty of Ferns. That treaty had been openly violated, and the king sent ambassadors to him to demand its fulfilment, by the withdrawal of the English troops, threatening, in case of refusal, to put the hostages to death. Dermot laughed at the threat. Under any circumstances, he was not the man who would hesitate to sacrifice his own flesh and blood to his ambition. Roderic was as good as his word; and the three royal hostages were put to death at Athlone.

Dermot Mac Murrrough died at Ferns, A.D. 1171, on the 4th of May. The annalists declare that he died of a painful and loathsome malady, and that his miserable end was a judgment on him for his crimes. Strongbow at once proclaimed himself king of Leinster, claiming the province in right of Eva, his wife. All appeared to promise well for the object of his ambition, when he received a sudden summons from Henry to return to England. The

barons of that monarch, always turbulent, had now a new ground for aggression, in the weakness to which he had exposed himself by his virtual sanction of the murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and he was fain to content himself with a strong injunction commanding all his English subjects then in Ireland to return immediately, and forbidding any further reinforcements to be sent to that country. Strongbow was alarmed, and at once despatched Raymond *le Gros* with apologies and explanations, offering the king all the lands he had acquired in Ireland. Henry does not appear to have taken the slightest notice of these communications, and the earl determined to risk his displeasure, and remain in Ireland.

But he soon found serious embarrassments in his career. His Irish adherents forsook him on the death of Dermot; Dublin was besieged by a Scandinavian force, which Hosculf had collected in the Orkneys, and which was conveyed in sixty vessels, under the command of Johan *le Dève* (the Furious). Miles de Cogan repulsed this formidable attack successfully, and captured the leaders. Hosculf was put to death; but he appears to have brought his fate on himself by a proud and incautious boast.

An attempt was now made by the Irish to expel the Norman nobles. The archbishop of Dublin, who was revered as a saint, and respected as a councillor, made earnest efforts to unite the national chieftains and rally the national army. His words appeared to have some effect. Messengers were sent to ask assistance from Godfred, king of the Isle of Man, and other island warriors. Strongbow became aware of his danger, and threw himself into Dublin; but he soon found himself landlocked by an army, and enclosed at sea by a fleet. Roderic O'Connor commanded the national forces, supported by Tiernan O'Rourke and Murrough O'Carroll. St. Laurence O'Toole remained in the camp, and strove to animate the men by his exhortations and example. The Irish army contented themselves with a blockade, and the besieged were soon reduced to extremities from want of food. Strongbow offered terms of capitulation through the archbishop, proposing to hold the kingdom of Leinster as Roderic's vassal; but the Irish

monarch demanded the surrender of the towns of Dublin, Wexford, and Waterford, and required the English invaders to leave the country by a certain day.

While these negotiations were pending, Donnell Cavanagh, son of the late king of Leinster, got into the city in disguise, and informed Strongbow that FitzStephen was closely besieged in Wexford. It was then at once determined to force a passage through the Irish army. Raymond *le Gros* led the van, Miles de Cogan followed; Strongbow and Maurice FitzGerald, who had proposed the sortie, with the remainder of their force, brought up the rear. The Irish army were totally unprepared for this sudden move; they fled in panic, and Roderic, who was bathing in the Liffey, escaped with difficulty.

Strongbow again committed the government of Dublin to Miles de Cogan, and set out for Wexford. On his way thither he was opposed by O'Regan, prince of Idrone. An action ensued, which might have terminated fatally for the army, had not the Irish prince received his death-wound from an English archer. His troops took to flight, and Strongbow proceeded on his journey. But he arrived too late. Messengers met him on the way, to inform him that the fort of Carrig had fallen into the hands of the Irish, who are said to have practised an unjustifiable stratagem to obtain possession of the place. As usual, there are two versions of the story. One of these versions, which appears not improbable, is that the besieged had heard a false report of the affair in Dublin; and believing Strongbow and the English army to have been overthrown, they surrendered on the promise of being sent in safety to Dublin. On their surrender, the conditions were violated, FitzStephen was imprisoned, and some of his followers killed. The charge against the besiegers is, that they invented the report as a stratagem to obtain their ends, and that the falsehood was confirmed in a solemn manner by the bishops of Wexford and Kildare.

As soon as the Wexford men had heard of Strongbow's approach, they set fire to the town, and fled to Beg-Erin, a stockaded island, at the same time sending him a message, that, if he attempted to approach they would kill all their

prisoners. The earl withdrew to Waterford in consequence of this threat, and here he learned that his presence was indispensable in England; he therefore set off at once to plead his own cause with his royal master. A third attack had been made on Dublin, in the meantime, by the lord of Breffni, but it was repulsed by Miles. With this exception, the Irish made no attempt against the common enemy, and domestic wars were as frequent as usual.

Henry had returned to England, and was now in Newenham, in Gloucestershire, making active preparations for his visit to Ireland. He received Strongbow coldly, and at first refused to grant him a personal interview. After a proper delay, however, he admitted him to his presence, and graciously accepted the earl's offer of 'all the lands he had won in Ireland.' Thus, Irish land became, for the first time, the property of an English king. In return for this extorted donation, Henry restored Strongbow's Welsh estates; but, with consummate hypocrisy and villany, he seized the estates of the Welsh lords, whom he hated for their vigorous and patriotic opposition, and punished them for allowing the expedition, which he had just sanctioned, to sail from their coasts unmolested.

SECTION III. *Arrival of Henry II. in Ireland.*

It is probable that Henry was prompted to undertake this expedition by policy as much as by the desire of increasing his dominions. He was doubtless glad of any arrangement which, by occupying public attention, might draw the notice of his barons from home affairs, and give them some employment which would prevent them from dwelling upon their discontents.

Henry landed in Ireland on the 18th of October 1171, at Crook, in the county of Waterford. He was accompanied by Strongbow, William FitzAldelm, Humphrey de Bohun, Hugh de Lacy, Robert FitzBarnard, and many other lords. His whole force, which, according to the most authentic English accounts, was distributed in four hundred ships, consisted of five hundred knights and four thousand men-at-arms. It would appear that the Irish had not the least

idea of his intention to claim the kingdom as his own, and rather looked upon him as a powerful potentate who had come to assist the native administration of justice, than as a new claimant for kingly authority.

It must ever be regretted, that at this important period there was no statesman of sufficient ability to provide for the future, no leading mind to give its impress to some masterly policy by which the two nations might have been really united at once and for ever. Ireland had long been distracted and desolated by domestic dissensions, and needed a firm and powerful hand to consolidate its various dependencies into one. Unhappily, this was precisely what the English settlers failed to do. They looked on the country as a land to be conquered, on the people as a race who, if they could not be exterminated, should at least be, as far as possible, enslaved. The mistake was a grave one, and has led to the most deplorable results; but it must be remembered that at this period we could scarcely expect much statesmanship or consideration. Each of the nobles who followed Henry was naturally anxious for his personal aggrandisement, and sought that only. The petty chieftains were set against each other, in order to weaken their opposition to the invaders; and the conduct of both parties was equally selfish and unwise.

MacCarthy, of Desmond, was the first Irish prince who did homage to the English king. His example was followed by Donnell O'Brien, king of Thomond, who swore fealty at Cashel, and afterwards surrendered Limerick. Other princes followed the example. They had been accustomed for centuries to an Ard-Righ, or chief monarch, who had a nominal authority over the lesser potentates, but who seldom interfered with them. It is probable that the majority of those who submitted to Henry looked upon him in this light. They certainly never contemplated being themselves ejected by the Norman nobles from their own territories.

The northern princes still held aloof; but Roderic had received Henry's ambassadors personally, and paid the usual deference which one king owed to another who was considered more powerful. Henry determined to spend his

Christmas in Dublin, and resolved on a special display of royal state. It is to be presumed that he wished to make up for deficiency in stateliness of person by stateliness of presence; for, like most of the descendants of Duke Robert 'the Devil' and the daughter of the Falaise tanner, his appearance was not calculated to inspire respect. His grey bloodshot eyes and tremulous voice were neither knightly nor kingly qualifications; his savage and ungovernable temper made him appear at times rather like a demon than a man. He was charged with having violated the most solemn oaths when it suited his convenience. A cardinal had pronounced him an audacious liar. Count Thiebault of Champagne had warned an archbishop not to rely on any of his promises, however sacredly made. He and his sons spent their time in quarrelling with each other, when not occupied in quarrelling with their subjects. His eldest son, Richard, thus graphically sketched the family characteristics:—'The custom in our family is that the son shall hate the father; our destiny is to detest each other; from the devil we came, to the devil we shall go.' It certainly could scarcely be expected that the rule of such a family would prove beneficial.

A special residence was erected for the court in Dublin, on part of the ground now occupied by the Southern side of Dame Street. The whole extent of Dublin at that time was, in length, from Corn Market to the Lower Castle Yard; and in breadth, from the Liffey, then covering Essex Street, to Little Sheep Street, now Ship Street, where a part of the town wall is yet standing. The only edifices in existence on the southern side of Dame Street, even at the commencement of the seventeenth century, were the Church of St. Andrew and the King's Mills. College Green was then quite in the country, and was known as the village of *Le Hogges*, a name derived apparently from the Teutonic word *Hoge*, which signifies a small hill or sepulchral mound. Here there was a nunnery called St. Mary le Hogges, which had been erected and endowed not many years before Henry's arrival, and a place called Hoggens Butt, where the citizens exercised themselves in archery. Here, during the winter of 1171, the Celt, the

Englishman, and the Norman, may have engaged in peaceful contests and pleasant trials of skill.

When the Christmas festivities had passed, Henry turned his attention to business, if, indeed, the same festivities had not also been a part of his diplomatic plans, for he was not deficient in kingcraft. In a synod at Cashel he attempted to settle ecclesiastical affairs. In a *Curia Regis*, held at Lismore, he imagined he had arranged temporal affairs. These are subjects which demand our best consideration. It is an historical fact, that the popes claimed and exercised great temporal power in the Middle Ages; it is admitted also that they used this power in the main for general good;¹ and that, as monks and friars were the preservers of literature, so popes and bishops were the protectors of the rights of nations, as far as was possible in such turbulent times. It does not belong to our present subject to theorise on the origin or the grounds of this power; it is sufficient to say that it had been exercised repeatedly both before and after Adrian granted the famous bull, by which he conferred the kingdom of Ireland on Henry II. The Merovingian dynasty was changed on the decision of Pope Zachary. Pope Adrian threatened Frederick I., that if he did not renounce all pretensions to ecclesiastical property in Lombardy, he should forfeit the crown, 'received from himself and through his unction.' When Pope Innocent III. pronounced sentence of deposition against Lackland in 1211, and conferred the kingdom of England on Philip Augustus, the latter instantly prepared to assert his claim, though he had no manner of title, except the papal grant. In fact, at the very moment when Henry was claiming the Irish crown in right of Adrian's bull,² given

¹ M. Guizot says: 'She [the Church] alone resisted the system of castes; she alone maintained the principle of equality of competition; she alone called all legitimate superiors to possession of power.'—*Hist. Gen. de la Civilization en Europe*, Lect. 5.

² It is generally admitted that there is no doubt of the authenticity of this document. Baronius published it from the *Codex Vaticanus*; John XXII. has annexed it to his brief addressed to Edward II.; and John of Salisbury states distinctly, in his *Metalogicus*, that he obtained this bull from Adrian. He grounds the right of donation on the supposed gift of the island by Constantine. As the question is one of interest and im-

some years previously, he was in no small trepidation at the possible prospect of losing his English dominions, as an excommunication and an interdict were even then hanging over his head.

It has been already shown that the possession of Ireland was coveted at an early period by the Norman rulers of Great Britain. When Henry II. ascended the throne in 1154, he probably intended to take the matter in hand at once. An Englishman, Adrian IV., filled the papal chair. The English monarch would naturally find him favourable to his own country. John of Salisbury, then chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury, was commissioned to request the favour. No doubt he represented his master as very zealous for the interests of religion, and made it appear that his sole motive was the good, temporal and spiritual, of the barbarous Irish; at least this is plainly implied in Adrian's bull. The pope could have no motive except that which he expressed in the document itself. He had been led to believe that the state of Ireland was deplorable; he naturally hoped that a wise and good government would restore what was amiss. There is no doubt that there was much which required amendment, and no one was more conscious of this, or strove more earnestly to effect it, than St. Laurence O'Toole, the prelate who governed the archiepiscopal see of Dublin at the time of Henry's arrival in Ireland. The Irish clergy had already made the most zealous efforts to remedy whatever needed correction; but it was an age of lawless violence. Reform was quite as much wanted both in England and in the Italian States; but Ireland had the additional disadvantage of having undergone three centuries of ruthless plunder and desecration of her churches and shrines, and the result told fearfully on that land which had once been the home of saints.

portance, we subjoin the original: 'Ad preces meas illustri Regi Anglorum Henrico II. concessit (Adrianus) et dedit Hiberniam jure hæreditario possidendam, sicut literæ ipsius testantur in hodiernum diem. Nam omnes insulæ de jure antiquo ex donatione Constantini, qui eam fundavit et dotavit, dicuntur ad Romanam Ecclesiam pertinere.'—*Metalogicus*, i. 4.

Henry's great object was to represent himself as one who had come to redress grievances rather than to claim allegiance; but however he may have deceived princes and chieftains, he certainly did not succeed in deceiving the clergy. The synod of Cashel, which he caused to be convened, was not attended as numerous as he had expected, and the regulations made thereat were simply a renewal of those which had been made previously.

Henry did not succeed much better with his administration of secular affairs. In his *Curia Regis*, at Lismore, he modelled Irish administration on Norman precedents, apparently forgetting that a kingdom and a province should be differently governed. Strongbow was appointed earl marshal; Hugh de Lacy, lord constable; Bertram de Verdun, seneschal; Theobald Walter, chief butler; and De Wellesley, royal standard-bearer. It was also arranged that, on the demise of a chief governor, the Norman nobles were to elect a successor, who should have full authority, until the royal pleasure could be known. Henry did not then attempt to style himself King or Lord of Ireland; his object seems to have been simply to obtain authority in the country through his nobles, as Wales had been subdued in a similar manner. English laws and customs were also introduced for the benefit of English settlers; the native population still adhered to their own legal observances. Henry again forgot that laws must be suited to the nation for whom they are made, and that English laws were as little likely to be acceptable to the Celt as his Norman tongue to an English-speaking people.

Dublin was now made over to the inhabitants of Bristol. Hugh de Lacy, its governor, has been generally considered in point of fact the first viceroy for Ireland. He was installed in the Norman fashion, and the sword and cap of maintenance were made the insignia of the dignity. Waterford and Wexford were also bestowed on royal favourites, or on such knights as were supposed most likely to hold them for the crown. Castles were erected throughout the country, which was portioned out among Henry's needy followers; and any Irishman who persisted in asserting a right to his own property was denounced as a rebel.

The winter had been so stormy that there was little communication with England; but early in spring the king received the portentous intelligence of the arrival of papal legates in Normandy, and learned that they threatened to place his dominions under an interdict, if he did not appear immediately to answer for his crime. Queen Eleanor and his sons were also plotting against him, and there were many who boldly declared that the murder of the archbishop of Canterbury would yet be fearfully avenged. Henry determined at once to submit to the Holy See, and to avert his doom by a real or pretended penitence. He therefore sailed for England from Wexford harbour, on Easter Monday, the 17th of April 1172, and arrived the same day at Port Finnen, in Wales.

SECTION IV.

How Ireland was governed by the Norman Nobles.

Giraldus Cambrensis, who had either accompanied Strongbow to Ireland, or preceded him as his secretary, has given ample details of the state of Ireland at this period. He was certainly no friend to the inhabitants, whom he describes as barbarians; but, nevertheless, he writes very severely of the evils which resulted from the Norman invasion. 'The clergy are reduced to beggary in the island; the cathedral churches mourn, having been deprived, by the aforesaid persons [the leading adventurers], and others along with them, or who came over after them, of the lands and ample estates which had been formerly granted to them faithfully and devoutly. And thus the exalting of the Church has been changed into the despoiling or plundering of the Church.' Nor is his account of the temporal state of the kingdom any better. He informs us that Dermot Mac Murrough, the originator of all those evils, 'oppressed his nobles, exalted upstarts, was a calamity to his countrymen, hated by the strangers, and, in a word, at war with the world.' Of the Anglo-Norman nobles, many of whom were his own relatives, and of their work, he writes thus: 'This new and bloody conquest was defiled by an enormous

effusion of blood, and the slaughter of a Christian people.' And again: 'The lands even of the Irish who stood faithful to our cause, from the first descent of FitzStephen and the earl, you have, in violation of a treaty, made over to your friends.' His character of Henry is, that he was more given to 'hunting than to holiness.'

Tiernan O'Rourke, the lord of Breffni, had been one of Henry's favoured guests at his Christmas festivities. He possessed the territory of East Meath, and this territory Henry had coolly bestowed on Hugh de Lacy. The rightful owner was not quite so dazzled by the sunshine of royal favour as to be willing to resign his property without a struggle. The Irish chieftain was persuaded to hold a conference with the English intruder at the hill of Tara, near Athboy. Both parties were attended by armed men. A dispute ensued. The interpreter was killed by a blow aimed at De Lacy, who fled precipitately; O'Rourke was killed by a spear-thrust as he mounted his horse, and vengeance was wreaked on his dead body, for the crime of wishing to maintain his rights, by subjecting it to decapitation. His head was impaled over the gate of Dublin castle, and afterwards sent as a present to Henry II. His body was gibbeted, with the feet upwards, on the northern side of the same building. The Four Masters say that O'Rourke was treacherously slain. From the account given by Cambrensis, it would appear that there was a plot to destroy the aged chieftain, but for want of clearer evidence we may give his enemies the benefit of the doubt.

Strongbow was now employing himself by depredating the territories which had been conferred on him. He took an army of one thousand horse and foot into Offaly, to lay waste O'Dempsey's territory, that prince having also committed the crime of wishing to keep his ancestral estates. He met with no opposition until he was about to return with the spoils; then, as he passed through a defile, the chieftain set upon him in the rear, and slew several of his knights, carrying off the Norman standard. Robert de Quincey, who had just married a daughter of Strongbow's by a former marriage, was amongst the slain. The earl had bestowed a large territory in Wexford on him.

Henry was at that time suffering from domestic troubles in Normandy ; he therefore summoned De Clare to attend him there. It would appear that he performed good service for his royal master, for he received further grants of lands and castles, both in Normandy and in Ireland. On his return to the latter country, he found that the spoilers had quarrelled over the spoil. Raymond *le Gros* had contrived to ingratiate himself with the soldiers, and they demanded that the command should be transferred from Hervey de Montmarisco, Strongbow's uncle, to the object of their predilection. The earl was obliged to comply. Their object was simply to plunder. The new general gratified them ; and after a raid on the unfortunate inhabitants of Offaly and Munster, they collected their booty at Lismore, intending to convey it by water to Waterford.

The Ostmen of Cork attacked them by sea, but failed to conquer. By land the Irish suffered another defeat. Raymond encountered MacCarthy of Desmond on his way to Cork, and plundered him, driving off a rich cattle spoil, in addition to his other ill-gotten goods. Raymond now demanded the appointment of constable of Leinster, and the hand of Strongbow's sister, Basilia. But the earl refused ; and the general, notwithstanding his successes, retired to Wales in disgust.

Hervey now resumed the command, A.D. 1174, and undertook an expedition against Donnell O'Brien, which proved disastrous to the English. Roderic once more appears in the field. The battle took place at Thurles, and seventeen hundred of the English were slain. In consequence of this disaster, the earl proceeded in sorrow to his house in Waterford. This great success was a signal for revolt amongst the native chieftains. Donald Cavanagh claimed his father's territory, and Gillamochalmog and other Leinster chieftains rose up against their allies. Roderic O'Connor at the same time invaded Meath, and drove the Anglo-Normans from their castles at Trim and Duleek. Strongbow was obliged to despatch messengers at once to invite the return of Raymond *le Gros*, and to promise him the offices he had demanded, and his sister's hand in marriage.

Raymond came without a moment's delay, accompanied by a considerable force. His arrival was most opportune for the English cause. The Northmen of Waterford were preparing to massacre the invaders, and effected their purpose when the earl left the town to join the new reinforcements at Wexford. The nuptials were celebrated at Wexford with great pomp; but news was received, on the following morning, that Roderic had advanced almost to Dublin; and the mantle and tunic of the nuptial feast were speedily exchanged for helmet and coat-of-mail. Unfortunately Roderic's army was already disbanded. The English soon repaired the injuries which had been done to their fortresses; and once more the Irish cause was lost, even in the moment of victory, for want of combination and a leader.

Henry now considered it time to produce the papal bulls, A.D. 1175. He therefore despatched the prior of Wallingford, and William FitzAldelm to Waterford, where a synod of the clergy was assembled to hear these important documents. The English monarch had contrived to impress the Holy See with wonderful ideas of his sanctity, by his penitential expiations of his share in the murder of St. Thomas à Becket. It was therefore easy for him to procure a confirmation of Adrian's bull from the then reigning pontiff, Alexander III. The pope also wrote to Christian, the legate, to the Irish archbishops, and to the king. Our historians have not informed us what was the result of this meeting. Had the papal donation appeared a matter of national importance, there can be little doubt that it would have excited more attention.

Raymond now led an army to Limerick, to revenge himself on Donnell O'Brien, for his defeat at Thurles. He succeeded in his enterprise. Several engagements followed, in which the Anglo-Normans were always victorious. Roderic now sent ambassadors to Henry II. The persons chosen were Catholcus, archbishop of Tuam; Concors, abbot of St. Brendan's, in Clonfert; and St. Laurence O'Toole, styled quaintly, in the old Saxon manner, 'Master Laurence.' The king and council received them at Windsor. The result of their conference was, that Roderic consented to pay homage to Henry, by giving him a hide from every

tenth head of cattle ; Henry, on his part, bound himself to secure the sovereignty of Ireland to Roderic, excepting only Dublin, Meath, Leinster, Waterford, and Dungarvan. In fact, the English king managed to have the best share, and made a favour of resigning what he never possessed, and of not keeping what he could never have held. This council took place on the octave of the feast of St. Michael, A.D. 1175. By this treaty Henry was simply acknowledged as a superior feudal sovereign ; and had Ireland been governed with ordinary justice, the arrangement might have been advantageous to both countries.

Roderic was still a king, both nominally and *ipso facto*. He had power to judge and depose the petty kings, and they were to pay their tribute to him for the English monarch. Any of the Irish who fled from the territories of the English barons, were to return ; but the king of Connaught might compel his own subjects to remain in his own land. Thus the English simply possessed a colony in Ireland ; and this colony, in a few years, became still more limited, while throughout the rest of the country the Irish language, laws, and usages, prevailed as they had hitherto done.

Henry now appointed Augustin, an Irishman, to the vacant see of Waterford, and sent him, under the care of St. Laurence, to receive consecration from the archbishop of Cashel, his metropolitan. For a century previous to this time, the bishops of Waterford had been consecrated by the Norman archbishops of Canterbury, with whom they claimed kindred.

While Raymond was still in Limerick, Strongbow died in Dublin. As it was of the highest political importance that his death should be concealed until some one was present to hold the reins of government, his sister, Basilia, sent an enigmatical letter¹ to her husband, which cer-

¹ 'To Raymond, her most loving lord and husband, his own Basilia wishes health as to herself. Know you, my dear lord, that the great tooth in my jaw, which was wont to ache so much, is now fallen out : wherefore, if you have any love or regard for me, or of yourself, you will delay not to hasten hither with all speed.'—Gilbert's *Viceroys*, p. 40. It is said that this letter was read for Raymond by a cleric of his train,

tainly does no small credit to her diplomatic skill. The messenger was not acquainted with the earl's death; and such of the Anglo-Normans in Dublin as were aware of it, had too much prudence to betray the secret. Raymond at once set out on his journey. Immediately after his arrival, Fitz-Gislebert, earl de Clare, was interred in the cathedral of the Holy Trinity, now called Christ's Church.

Strongbow has not obtained a flattering character, either from his friends or his enemies. Even Cambrensis admits that he was obliged to be guided by the plans of others, having neither originality to suggest, nor talent to carry out any important line of action.

The Irish annalists call him the greatest destroyer of the clergy and laity that came to Ireland since the times of Turgesius ('Annals of Innisfallen'). The Four Masters record his demise thus: 'The English earl [*i.e.* Richard] died in Dublin, of an ulcer which had broken out in his foot, through the miracles of SS. Brigid and Colum-cille, and of all the other saints whose churches had been destroyed by him. He saw, he thought, St. Brigid in the act of killing him.' Pembridge says he died on the 1st of May, and Cambrensis about the 1st of June. His personal appearance is not described in very flattering terms; and he has the credit of being more of a soldier than a statesman, and not very knightly in his manner or bearing.

The earl de Claro left only one child, a daughter, as heir to his vast estates. She was afterwards married to William Marshal, earl of Pembroke. Although Strongbow was a 'destroyer' of the native clergy, he appears to have been impregnated with the mediæval devotion for establishing religious houses. He founded a priory at Kilmainham for the Knights of the Temple, with an almshouse and hospital. He was also a liberal benefactor to the church of the Holy Trinity, where he was buried.

so it is presumable that reading and writing were not made a part of his education.

CHAPTER XIII.

A.D. 1176 TO A.D. 1271.

THE FIRST CENTURY AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF THE
NORMANS IN IRELAND.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS: Third and fourth Crusades—Latin Empire of Constantinople founded—Mahommedan power overthrown in Spain—Magna Charta signed—Fifth and sixth Crusades—The Hanseatic League founded—English House of Commons established—Bacon Lectures at Oxford—Death of St. Louis of France.

SECTION I.

Viceroyalty of FitzAldelm de Burgo.—The title of King of Ireland conferred by Henry II. on his youngest son John.

HENRY II. was holding his court of Valognes in Normandy when the news of Strongbow's death was communicated to him. He at once nominated his senechal, FitzAldelm de Burgo, viceroy of Ireland, A.D. 1176. The new governor was accompanied by John de Courcy, Robert FitzEstevane, and Miles de Cogan. Raymond had assumed the reins of government after the death of Strongbow, but Henry appears always to have regarded him with jealousy, and gladly availed himself of every opportunity of lessening the power of one who stood so high in favour with the army. The viceroy was received at Wexford by Raymond, who prudently made a merit of necessity, and resigned his charge. It is said that FitzAldelm was much struck by his retinue and numerous attendants, all of whom belonged to the same family; and that he then and

there vowed to effect their ruin. From this moment is dated the distrust so frequently manifested by the English government towards the powerful and popular Geraldines.

The new viceroy was not a favourite with the Anglo-Norman colonists. He was openly accused of partiality to the Irish, because he attempted to demand justice for them. It is not known whether this policy was the result of his own judgment, or a compliance with the wishes of his royal master. His conciliatory conduct, whatever may have been its motive, was unhappily counteracted by the violence of De Courcy. This nobleman asserted that he had obtained a grant of Ulster from Henry II.; on what grounds, it would be indeed difficult to ascertain. He proceeded to make good his claim; and, in defiance of the viceroy's prohibition, set out for the north, with a small army of chosen knights and soldiers. His friend, Sir Almaric Tristram de Saint Lawrence, was of the number. He was De Courcy's brother-in-law, and they had made vows of eternal friendship in the famous cathedral of Rouen. De Courcy is described as a man of extraordinary physical strength, of large proportions, shamefully penurious, rashly impetuous, and, despite a fair share in the vices of the age, full of reverence for the clergy, at least if they belonged to his own race. Cambrensis gives a glowing description of his valour, and says that 'any one who had seen Jean de Courci wield his sword, lopping off heads and arms, might well have commended the might of this warrior.'

De Courcy arrived in Downpatrick in four days. The inhabitants were taken by surprise; and the sound of his bugles at daybreak was the first intimation they received of their danger. Cardinal Vivian, who had come as legate from Alexander III., had but just arrived at the port. He did his best to promote peace. But neither party would yield; and as the demands of the Norman knights were perfectly unreasonable, Vivian advised Dunlevy, the chieftain of Ulidia, to have recourse to arms. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the English gained the victory, principally through the personal bravery of their leader. This battle was fought about the beginning of February; another

engagement took place on the 24th of June, in which the northerns were again defeated.

Cardinal Vivian now proceeded to Dublin, where he held a synod. The principal enactment referred to the right of sanctuary. During the Anglo-Norman wars, the Irish had secured their provisions in the churches; and it is said that, in order to starve out the enemy, they even refused to sell at any price. It was now decreed that sanctuary might be violated to obtain food; but a fair price was to be paid for whatever was taken. It is to be feared these conditions were seldom complied with. The abbey of St. Thomas the Martyr was founded in Dublin about this time, by FitzAldelm, at the command of Henry II., one of his many acts of reparation. The site was the place now called Thomas Court. The viceroy endowed it with a carucate of land, in the presence of the legate and St. Laurence O'Toole. After the settlement of these affairs, cardinal Vivian passed over to Chester, on his way to Scotland.

One of Roderic O'Connor's sons, Murrough, having rebelled against him, Miles de Cogan went to his assistance—a direct and flagrant violation of the treaty of Windsor. At Roscommon the English were joined by the unnatural rebel, who guided them through the province. The king was in Iar-Connaught, and the allies burned and plundered without mercy, as they passed along to Trim. Here they remained three nights; but as the people had fled with their cattle and other movable property into the fastnesses, they had not been able to procure any spoil on their march. Roderic soon appeared to give them battle; but they were defeated without considerable loss. Murrough was taken prisoner by his father, and his eyes were put out as a punishment for his rebellion, and to prevent a repetition of his treachery.

Another violation of the treaty of Windsor was also perpetrated this year, A.D. 1177. Henry II. summoned a council of his prelates and barons at Oxford, and solemnly conferred the title of King of Ireland on his youngest son, John, then a mere child. A new grant of Meath to Hugh de Lacy was made immediately after, in the joint names of

Henry II. and John. Desmond was also granted to Miles de Cogan, with the exception of the city of Cork, which the king reserved to himself. Thomond was offered to two English nobles, who declined the tempting but dangerous favour. It was then presented to Philip de Bresosa; but though the knight was no coward, he fled precipitately, when he discovered, on coming in sight of Limerick, that the inhabitants had set it on fire, so determined was their resistance to foreign rule. The territory of Waterford was granted to Roger le Poer; but, as usual, the city was reserved for the royal benefit. In fact, Sir John Davies well observed, that 'all Ireland was by Henry II. cantonised among ten of the English nation; and though they did not gain possession of one-third of the kingdom, yet in title they were owners and lords of all, as nothing was left to be granted to the natives.'

Meanwhile De Courcy was plundering the northern provinces. His wife, Affreca, was a daughter of Godfrey, king of Man, and thus he could secure assistance by sea as well as by land. But the tide of fortune was not always in his favour. After he had plundered in Louth, he was attacked, in the vale of Newry river, by O'Carroll of Oriel and Dunlevy of Ulidia. On this occasion he lost four hundred men, many of whom were drowned. Soon after he suffered another defeat in Antrim, from O'Flynn. The Four Masters say he fled to Dublin; Dr. O'Donovan thinks that we should read Downpatrick. The latter part of the name cannot be correctly ascertained, as the paper is worn away.

The Irish were, as usual, engaged in domestic dissensions, and the English acted as allies on whichever side promised to be most advantageous to themselves.

In 1179 Henry gave the office of viceroy to De Lacy, and recalled FitzAldelm. The new governor employed himself actively in erecting castles and oppressing the unfortunate Irish. Cambrensis observes, that he 'amply enriched himself and his followers by oppressing others with a strong hand.' Yet he seems to have had some degree of popularity, even with the native Irish, for he married a daughter of Roderic O'Connor as his second

wife. This alliance, for which he had not asked permission, and his popularity, excited the jealousy of the English king, who deprived him of his office. But he was soon reinstated, although the bishop of Shrewsbury, with the name of counsellor, was set as a spy on his actions. These events occurred A.D. 1181. De Lacy's old companion, Hervey de Montmarisco, became a monk at Canterbury, after founding the Cistercian monastery of Dunbrody, in the county of Wexford, and died in his seventy-fifth year at the English house.

In 1179 several Irish bishops were summoned by Alexander III. to attend the third general council of Lateran. These prelates were, St. Laurence of Dublin, O'Duffy of Tuam, O'Brien of Killaloe, Felix of Lismore, Augustine of Waterford, and Brictius of Limerick. Usher says several other bishops were summoned; it is probable they were unable to leave the country, and hence their names have not been given. The real state of the Irish Church was then made known to the Holy See; no living man could have described it more accurately and truthfully than the holy prelate who had sacrificed himself for so many years for its good. Even as the bishops passed through England, the royal jealousy sought to fetter them with new restrictions; and they were obliged to take an oath that they would not sanction any infringements on Henry's prerogatives. St. Malachy was now appointed legate by the pope, with jurisdiction over the five suffragans, and the possessions attached to his see were confirmed to him.

In 1183 the unfortunate Irish monarch, Roderic, had retired to the abbey of Cong, and left such empty titles as he possessed to his son, Connor. De Lacy and De Courcy had occupied themselves alternately in plundering and destroying the religious houses which had so long existed, and in founding new monasteries with a portion of their ill-gotten gains. It would appear that De Lacy built so far on his popularity with the Anglo-Normans, as to have aspired to the sovereignty of Ireland,—an aspiration which his master soon discovered, and speedily punished. He was supplanted by Philip of Worcester, who exceeded all his predecessors in rapacity and cruelty to the native Irish.

SECTION II. *Visit of Prince John to Ireland.*

It is probable, when Henry II. conferred the title of King of Ireland on his favourite son John, that he intended him to govern that country as viceroy, and probably supposed that some such arrangement would be made for the future by his successors. But even if his sons had been less turbulent and unruly than they were, it was obvious that this would be a dangerous experiment. A prince who held such a position would be likely soon to claim the power as well as the title of king, and Ireland might have to be regained from the new settlers themselves. The visit of prince John was probably an experiment: it proved in every way singularly unsuccessful.

The prince was very unwilling to undertake the expedition. As he was on the eve of his departure, Eraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, arrived in England, to enjoin the fulfilment of the king's vow to undertake a crusade to Palestine. As Henry had got out of his difficulties, he declined to fulfil his solemn engagement, and refused permission to his son, John, who threw himself at his father's feet, and implored leave to be his substitute. Eraclius then poured forth his indignation upon Henry, with all the energetic freedom of the age. He informed him that God would punish his impieties—that he was worse than any Saracen; and hinted that he might have inherited his wickedness from his grandmother, the countess of Anjou, who was reported to be a witch, and of whom it was said that she had flown through the window during the most solemn part of mass, though four squires attempted to hold her!

Henry, however, was firm, and prince John sailed from Milford haven on the evening of Easter Wednesday, A.D. 1185. He landed with his troops at Waterford on the following day. The famous Cambrensis, Gerald Barry, was appointed his tutor, in conjunction with Ramsey de Glanville. These men were both notoriously prejudiced against the Irish, and looked on them as a race of savages, who only existed to be plundered and scoffed at by the new settlers. Under such tuition it is little wonder that the young prince treated the Celtic chieftains with contempt

and scorn. His followers openly ridiculed their dress, and especially their peculiar method of wearing their hair, and even went so far as to pull the beards of Leinster men.

It is said that all this was encouraged by De Lacy, who naturally looked on the prince as an interloper, and wished to keep the government of Ireland in his own hands. But his efforts were not necessary. The insolence of the courtiers, and the folly of the youth himself, were quite sufficient to ruin more promising prospects. In addition to other outrages, the Irish had seen their few remaining estates bestowed on the new comers; and even the older Anglo-Norman and Welsh settlers were expelled to make room for the prince's favourites—an instalment of the fatal policy which made them eventually 'more Irish than the Irish.' When the colony was on the verge of ruin, the young prince returned to England. He threw the blame of his failure on Hugh de Lacy; but the Norman knight did not live long enough after to suffer from the accusation. De Lacy was killed while inspecting a castle which he had just built on the site of St. Columbkille's monastery at Durrow, in the Queen's County. He was accompanied by three Englishmen; as he was in the act of stooping, a youth of an ancient and noble family, named O'Meyey, gave him his death-blow, severed his head from his body, and then fled with such swiftness as to elude pursuit. It is said that he was instigated to perform this deed by Sumagh O'Caharnay (the Fox), with whom he now took refuge.

The Annals mention this as a 'revenge of Columkille;' they also say that 'all Meath was full of his English castles, from the Shannon to the sea.' Henry at once appointed his son, John, to the Irish viceroyalty, but domestic troubles prevented his plans from being carried out. Archbishop Comyn held a synod in Dublin during this year, 1187; and on the 9th of June the relics of SS. Patrick, Columba, and Brigid were discovered, and solemnly entombed anew under the direction of cardinal Vivian, who came to Ireland to perform this function. During the year 1198 the Irish continued their usual fatal and miserable dissensions; still they contrived to beat the common enemy,

and O'Muldony drove De Courcy and his troops from Bal-lysadare. He was again attacked in crossing the Curliu Mountains, and escaped to Leinster with considerable loss and difficulty.

In 1189 Henry II. died at Chinon, in Normandy. He expired launching anathemas against his sons, and especially against John, as he had just discovered that he had joined those who conspired against him. In his last moments he was stripped of his garments and jewels, and left naked and neglected.

SECTION III.

*Prince John confirmed by Richard I. as Lord of Ireland.—
Viceroyalty of De Lacy and others.*

During the reign of Richard I. all the public affairs of the Anglo-Norman colony were transacted in the name of 'John, lord of Ireland, earl of Montague.' But Palgrave observes that John never claimed to be king of the Irish, just as Edward wrote himself simply lord of Scotland, and acknowledged Baliol to be king of the Scots.

Richard was too much occupied about foreign affairs to attend to his own kingdom. He was a brave soldier, and as such merits our respect; but he can scarcely be credited as a wise king. Irish affairs were committed to the care of John, who does not appear to have profited by his former experience. He appointed Hugh de Lacy lord justice, to the no small disgust of John de Courcy; but it was little matter to whom the government of that unfortunate country was confided. There were nice distinctions made about titles, but there were no nice distinctions about property; for the rule seemed to be, that whoever could get it should have it, and whoever could keep it should possess it.

In 1189 Roderic's son, Connor Moinmoy, fell a victim to a conspiracy of his own chieftains,—a just retribution for his rebellion against his father. He had, however, the reputation of being brave and generous. At his death Connaught was once more plunged in civil war, and after some delay and difficulty Roderic resumed the government.

In 1192 the brave king of Thomond again attacked the English invaders. But after his death, in 1194, the Anglo-Normans had little to apprehend from native valour. His obituary is thus recorded: 'Donnell, son of Turlough O'Brien, king of Munster, a burning lamp in peace and war, and the brilliant star of the hospitality and valour of the Momonians, and of all Leth-Mogha, died.' Several other 'lamps' went out at this period; one of these was Crunce O'Flynn, who had defeated De Courcy in 1178, and O'Carroll, prince of Oriel, who had been hanged by the English the year before, after the very unnecessary cruelty of putting out his eyes.

The affairs of the English colony were not more prosperous. New lords justices followed each other in quick succession. One of these governors, Hamon de Valois, attempted to replenish his coffers from church property,—a proceeding which provoked the English archbishop Comyn. As this ecclesiastic failed to obtain redress in Ireland, he proceeded to England with his complaints; but he could not obtain a hearing. After an appeal in person to king Richard and prince John, he was placed in confinement in Normandy, and only released by the interference of the Holy See.

John ascended the English throne in 1199. He appointed Meiller FitzHenri governor of Ireland. It has been conjectured that if John had not obtained the sovereignty, he and his descendants might have claimed the 'Lordship of Ireland.' There can be no doubt that he and they might have claimed it; but whether they could have held it is quite another consideration. It is generally worse than useless to speculate on what might have been. In this case, however, we may decide with positive certainty, that no such condition of things could have continued long. The English kings would have looked with jealousy even on the descendants of their ancestors, if they kept possession of the island; and the descendants would have become, as invariably happened, *Hibernis ipsis Hibernior*, and therefore would have shared the fate of the 'common enemy.'

Meanwhile the O'Connors were fighting in Kerry. Cathal

Carragh obtained the services of FitzAldelm, and expelled Cathal Croiderg. He, in his turn, sought the assistance of Hugh O'Neill, who had been distinguishing himself by his valour against De Courcy and the English. They marched into Connaught, but were obliged to retreat with great loss. The exiled prince now sought English assistance, and easily prevailed on De Courcy and young De Lacy to help him. But misfortune still followed him. His army was again defeated; and as they fled to the peninsula of Rindown on Lough Ree, they were so closely hemmed in, that no way of escape remained, except to cross the lake in boats. In attempting to do this a great number were drowned. The Annals of Kilronan and Clonmacnois enter these events under the year 1200; the Four Masters under the year 1199. The former state that 'Cahall Carragh was taken deceitfully by the English of Meath,' and imprisoned until he paid a ransom; and that De Courcy, 'after slaying of his people,' returned to Ulster.

Cathal Croiderg now obtained the assistance of the lord justice, who plundered Clonmacnois. He also purchased the services of FitzAldelm, and thus deprived his adversary of his best support. The English, like the mercenary troops of Switzerland and the Netherlands, appear to have changed sides with equal alacrity, when it suited their convenience; for if they were well paid, it mattered little to them against whom they turned their arms. In 1201 Cathal Croiderg marched from Limerick to Roscommon, with his new ally and the sons of Donnell O'Brien and Florence MacCarthy. They took up their quarters at Boyle, and occupied themselves in wantonly desecrating the abbey. Meanwhile, Cathal Carragh, king of Connaught, had assembled his forces, and came to give them battle. Some skirmishes ensued, in which he was slain, and thus the affair was ended. FitzAldelm, or De Burgo, as he is more generally called now, assisted by O'Flaherty of West Connaught, turned against Cathal when they arrived at Cong to spend the Easter. It would appear that the English were billeted on the Irish throughout the country; and when De Burgo demanded wages for them, the Connacians rushed upon them, and slew six hundred men. For once

his rapacity was foiled, and he marched off to Munster with such of his soldiers as had escaped the massacre. Three years after he revenged himself by plundering the whole of Connaught, lay and ecclesiastical.

During this period Ulster was also desolated by civil war. Hugh O'Neill was deposed, and Connor O'Loughlin obtained rule : but the former was restored after a few years.

John de Courcy appears always to have been regarded with jealousy by the English court. His downfall was at hand, A.D. 1204 ; and to add to its bitterness, his old enemies, the De Lacys, were chosen to be the instruments of his disgrace. It is said that he had given mortal offence to John, by speaking openly of him as a usurper and the murderer of his nephew ; but even had he not been guilty of this imprudence, the state he kept, and the large tract of country which he held, was cause enough for his ruin. He had established himself at Downpatrick, and was surrounded in almost regal state by a staff of officers, including his constable, seneschal, and chamberlain ; he even coined money in his own name. Complaints of his exactions were carried to the king. The De Lacys accused him of disloyalty. In 1202 the then viceroy, Hugh de Lacy, attempted to seize him treacherously, at a friendly meeting. He failed to accomplish this base design ; but his brother, Walter, succeeded afterwards in a similar attempt, and De Courcy was kept in durance until the devastations which his followers committed in revenge obliged his enemies to release him.

In 1204 he defeated the viceroy in a battle at Down. He was aided in this by the O'Neills, and by soldiers from Man and the Isles. It will be remembered that he could always claim assistance from the latter, in consequence of his connection by marriage. But this did not avail him. He was summoned before the council in Dublin, and some of his possessions were forfeited. Later in the same year (A.D. 1204) he received a safe-conduct to proceed to the king. It is probable that he was confined in the Tower of London for some time ; but it is now certain that he revisited Ireland in 1210, if not earlier, in the service of John, who

granted him an annual pension.¹ It is supposed that he died about 1219; for in that year Henry III. ordered his widow, Affreca, to be paid her dower out of the lands which her late husband had possessed in Ireland.

Cambrensis states that De Courcy had no children; but the barons of Kinsale claim to be descended from him; and even so late as 1821 they exercised the privilege of appearing covered before George IV.—a favour said to have been granted to De Courcy by king John, after his recall from Ireland, as a reward for his prowess. Dr. Smith states, in his History of Cork, that Miles de Courcy was a hostage for his father during the time when he was permitted to leave the Tower to fight the French champion. In a pedigree of the MacCarthys of Cooraun Lough, county Kerry, a daughter of Sir John de Courcy is mentioned. The Irish annalists, as may be supposed, were not slow to attribute his downfall to his crimes.

Another English settler died about this period, and received an equal share of reprobation; this was FitzAldelm, more commonly known as Mac William Burke (de Burgo), and the ancestor of the Burke family in Ireland.

SECTION IV.

Disputes between the English settlers in Ireland.—Visit of King John.

King John was now obliged to interfere between his English barons in Ireland, who appear to have been quite as much occupied with feuds among themselves as the native princes.

¹ One hundred pounds per annum. Orders concerning it are still extant on the Close Rolls of England.—*Rot. Lit. Clau.* 1833, 144. It is curious, and should be carefully noted, how constantly proofs are appearing that the Irish bards and chroniclers, from the earliest to the latest period, were most careful as to the truth of their facts, though they may have sometimes coloured them highly. Dr. O'Donovan has devoted some pages in a note (Four Masters, vol. iii. p. 139) to the Tales in the Book of Howth which record the exploits of De Courcy, and appeared satisfied that they were 'invented in the fifteenth or sixteenth century.' Yet Mr. Gilbert has since ascertained that they were placed on record

In 1201 Philip of Worcester and William de Braose laid waste the greater part of Munster in their quarrels. John had sold the lands of the former, and of Theobald Walter to the latter, for four thousand marks—Walter redeemed his property for five hundred marks; Philip obtained his at the point of the sword. De Braose had large property both in Normandy and in England. He had his chancellor, chancery, and seal, recognizances of all pleas, not even excepting those of the crown, with judgment of life and limb. His sons and daughters had married into powerful families. His wife, Matilda, was notable in domestic affairs, and a vigorous oppressor of the Welsh. A bloody war was waged about the same time between De Lacy, De Marisco, and the lord justice. Cathal Crovderg and O'Brien aided the latter in besieging Limerick, while some of the English fortified themselves in their castles and plundered indiscriminately.

In 1205 the earldom of Ulster was granted to Hugh de Lacy. The grant is inscribed on the charter roll of the seventh year of king John, and is the earliest record, now extant, of the creation of an Anglo-Norman dignity in Ireland. England was placed under an interdict in 1207, in consequence of the violence and wickedness of its sovereign. He procured the election of John de Grey to the see of Canterbury, a royal favourite, and if only for this reason, unworthy of the office. Another party who had a share in the election chose Reginald, the sub-prior of the monks of Canterbury. But when the choice was submitted to Pope Innocent III., he rejected both candidates, and fixed on an English cardinal, Stephen Langton, who was at once elected, and received consecration from the pope himself. John was highly indignant, as might have been expected. He swore his favourite oath, that he would cut off the nose and pluck out the eyes of any priest who attempted to

as early as 1360, in Pembridge's Annals. As they are merely accounts of personal valour, we do not reproduce them here. He also gives an extract from Hoveden's Annals, p. 823, which further supports the Irish account. Rapin gives the narrative as history. Indeed, there appears nothing very improbable about it. The Howth family were founded by Sir Almaric St. Lawrence, who married De Courcy's sister.

carry the pope's decrees against him into England. But some of the bishops, true to their God and the Church, promulgated the interdict, and then fled to France to escape the royal vengeance. It was well for them they did so; for Geoffrey, archdeacon of Norwich, was seized, and enveloped, by the royal order, in a sacerdotal vestment of massive lead, and thus thrown into prison, where he was starved to death beneath the crushing weight. It was an age of violence, and men seem seldom to have considered the severity of the punishments they inflicted on others, unless, by a just retribution, they were themselves subjected to similar tortures. It was centuries before the duty of considering the most merciful means of repressing crime became a subject of consideration. But we have not yet heard all the refinements of cruelty which this same monarch exercised. Soon after, John was excommunicated personally. When he found that Philip of France was prepared to seize his kingdom, and that his crimes had so alienated him from his own people that he could hope for little help from them, he cringed with the craven fear so usually found in cruel men, and made the most abject submission. In the interval between the proclamation of the interdict and the fulmination of the sentence of excommunication, A.D. 1210, John visited Ireland.

He extorted money for the expenses of his journey from the Jews at Bristol, and landed at Crook, near Waterford, on the 20th June.

A quarter of a century had elapsed since his first visit to Ireland. In the interval he had grown grey in profligacy, but he had not grown wiser or better with advancing years. His army was commanded by the earl of Salisbury, son to Henry I. by Fair Rosamond. De Braose fled to England when he heard of the king's movements. Here he endeavoured to make peace with his master, but failing to do so, he carefully avoided putting himself in his power, and took refuge in France. His wife was not so fortunate. After John's return to England, Matilda and her son were seized by his command, and imprisoned at Corfe Castle, in the isle of Pembroke. Here they were shut up in a room, with only a sheaf of wheat and a piece of raw bacon for their pro-

vision. When the prison door was opened on the eleventh day, they were both found dead.

De Lacy also fled before the king's visit; John took Carrickfergus castle from his people, and stationed a garrison of his own there. Several Irish princes paid homage to him; amongst others we find the names of Cathal Croiderg and Hugh O'Neill. The Norman lords were also obliged to swear fealty, and transcripts of their oaths were placed in the Irish exchequer. Arrangements were also made for the military support of the colony, and certain troops were to be furnished with forty days' ration by all who held lands by 'knight's service.' The Irish princes who lived in the southern and western parts of Ireland, appear to have treated the king with silent indifference; they could afford to do so, as they were so far beyond the reach of his vengeance.

John remained only sixty days in Ireland. He returned to Wales on the 26th of August 1210, after confiding the government of the colony to John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, whose predilection for secular affairs had induced the Holy See to reject his nomination to the archbishopric of Canterbury. The most important act of his viceroyalty was the erection of a bridge and castle at *Ath-Luain* (Athlone). He was succeeded in 1213 by Henry of London, who had been appointed to the see of Dublin during the preceding year. This prelate was one of those who were the means of obtaining *Magna Charta*. His name appears second on the list of counsellors who advised the grant; and he stood by the king's side, at Runnymede, when the barons obtained the bulwark of English liberty. Indeed the clergy were the foremost to demand it, and the most persevering in their efforts to obtain it.

The archbishop was now sent to Rome by the king to plead his cause there, and to counteract, as best he might, the serious complaints made against him by all his subjects—A.D. 1215. In 1213 Walter de Lacy obtained the restoration of his father's property in Wales and England. Two years later he recovered his Irish lands; but the king retained his son, Gislebert, as hostage, and his castle of *Droicead-Atha* (Drogheda).

The Irish chieftains made some stand for their rights at the close of this reign. Cormac O'Melaghlin wrested Delvin, in Meath, from the English. O'Neill and O'Donnell composed their difference *pro tem.*, and joined in attacking the invaders. In the south there was a war between Dermot and Connor Carthy, in which the Anglo-Normans joined, and, as usual, got the lion's share, obtaining such an increase of territory as enabled them to erect twenty new castles in Cork and Kerry.

The Four Masters give a curious story under the year 1213. O'Donnell More sent his steward to Connaught to collect his tribute. On his way he visited the poet Murray O'Daly, and began to wrangle with him, 'although his lord had given him no instructions to do so.' The poet's ire was excited. He killed him on the spot with a sharp axe—an unpleasant exhibition of literary justice—and then fled into Clanrickarde for safety. O'Donnell determined to revenge the insult, until Mac William (William de Burgo) submitted to him. But the poet had been sent to seek refuge in Thomond. The chief pursued him there also, and laid siege to Limerick. The inhabitants at once expelled the murderer, who eventually fled to Dublin. After receiving tribute from the men of Connaught, O'Donnell marched to Dublin, and compelled the people to banish Murray to Scotland. Here he remained until he had composed three poems in praise of O'Donnell, imploring peace and forgiveness. He was then pardoned, and so far received into favour as to obtain a grant of land and other possessions.

The Irish bishops were, as usual, in constant intercourse with Rome. Several prelates attended the fourth general council of Lateran, in 1215. The Annals give the obituaries of some good men, whose lives redeemed the age from the character for barbarity, which its secular literature would seem to justify. Amongst these we find the obituary of Catholien O'Duffy, in 1201; of Uaireirghe, 'one of the noble sages of Clonmacnois, a man full of the love of God and of every virtue;' of Conn O'Melly, bishop of Annaghdown, 'a transparently bright gem of the Church;' of Donnell O'Brollaghan, 'a prior, a noble senior, a sage illustrious for his intelligence;' and of many others. A great

number of monasteries were also founded, especially by the Anglo-Normans, who appear to have had periodical fits of piety after periodical temptations to replenish their coffers out of their neighbours' property.

SECTION V.

Regulations made in the reign of Henry III. for the office of Viceroy or Justiciary of Ireland.

Henry III. succeeded his father, John, while only in his tenth year. William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, was appointed protector of the kingdom and the king. The young monarch was hastily crowned at Gloucester, with but little of the usual ceremony. Had the wise and good earl lived to administer affairs for a longer period, it would have been a blessing to both countries. Geoffrey de Marisco still continued governor of Ireland. Affairs in England were in an extremely critical position. The profligate Isabella had returned to her first husband, Hugh of Lusignan, whom she had before forsaken for king John. Gloucester, London, and Kent, were in the hands of the Dauphin of France. Some few acts of justice to Ireland were the result; but when justice is only awarded from motives of fear or interest, it becomes worse than worthless as a mode of conciliation. Such justice, however, as was granted, only benefited the Anglo-Norman settlers; the 'mere Irish' were a race devoted to plunder and extermination.

In consequence of complaints from the English barons in Ireland, a modified form of Magna Charta was granted to them, and a general amnesty was proclaimed, with special promises of reparation to the nobles whom John had oppressed. Hugh de Lacy was also pardoned and recalled; but it was specially provided that the Irish should have no share in such favours; and the viceroy was charged to see that no native of the country obtained cathedral preferment. This piece of injustice was annulled through the interference of Pope Honorius III.

In 1217 the young king, or rather his advisers, sent the archbishop of Dublin to that city to levy a 'tallage' or tax

for the royal benefit. The archbishop and the justiciary were directed to represent to the 'Kings of Ireland,' and the barons holding direct from the crown, that their liberality would not be forgotten; but neither the politeness of the address nor the benevolence of the promise were practically appreciated, probably because neither were believed to be sincere, and the king's coffers were not much replenished.

Arrangements were now made defining the powers of the viceroy or justiciary. The earliest details on the subject are embodied in an agreement between Henry III. and Geoffrey de Marisco, sealed at Oxford, in March 1220, in presence of the papal legate, the archbishop of Dublin, and many of the nobility.

By these regulations the justiciary was bound to account in the exchequer of Dublin for all taxes and aids received in Ireland for the royal purse. He was to defray all expenses for the maintenance of the king's castles and lands out of the revenues. In fact, the people of the country were taxed, either directly or indirectly, for the support of the invaders. The king's castles were to be kept by loyal and proper constables, who were obliged to give hostages. Indeed, so little faith had the English kings in the loyalty of their own subjects, that the justiciary himself was obliged to give a hostage as security for his own behaviour. Neither does the same viceroy appear to have benefited trade, for he is accused of exacting wine, clothing, and victuals, without payment from the merchants of Dublin.

In 1221 the archbishop of Dublin, Henry of London, was made governor. He obtained the name of 'Scorch Villain,' from having cast into the fire the leases of the tenants of his see, whom he had cited to produce these documents in his court. The enraged landholders attacked the attendants, and laid hands on the archbishop, who was compelled to do them justice, from fear of personal violence. When such was the mode of government adopted by English officials, we can scarcely wonder that the people of Ireland have not inherited very ardent feelings of loyalty and devotion to the crown and constitution of that country.

Such serious complaints were made of the unjust governor, that Henry was at last obliged to check his rapacity. Probably he was all the more willing to do so, in consequence of some encroachments on the royal prerogative.

After the death of the earl of Pembroke, who had obtained the pardon of Hugh de Lacy, a feud arose between the latter and the son of his former friend. In consequence of this quarrel, all Meath was ravaged, Hugh O'Neill having joined De Lacy in the conflict.

Some of the Irish chieftains now tried to obtain protection from the rapacity of the Anglo-Norman barons, by paying an annual stipend to the crown; but the crown, though graciously pleased to accept anything which might be offered, still held to its royal prerogative of disposing of Irish property as appeared most convenient to royal interests. Though Cathal Crovderg had made arrangements with Henry III., at an immense sacrifice, to secure his property, that monarch accepted his money, but, nevertheless, bestowed the whole province of Connaught shortly after on Richard de Burgo.

Crovderg had retired into a Franciscan monastery at Knockmoy, which he had founded, and there he was interred nobly and honourably. After his death there were no less than three claimants for his dignity. De Burgo claimed it in right of the royal gift: Hugh Cathal claimed it as heir to his father, Crovderg; Turlough claimed it for the love of fighting, inherent in the Celtic race; and a general guerilla warfare was carried on by the three parties, to the utter ruin of each individual. For the next ten years the history of the country is the history of deadly feuds between the native princes, carefully fomented by the English settlers, whose interest it was to make them exterminate each other.

The quarrel for the possession of Connaught began in the year 1225. The Anglo-Normans had a large army at Athlone, and Hugh Cathal went to claim their assistance. The lord justice put himself at the head of the army; they marched into Connaught, and soon became masters of the situation. Roderic's sons at once submitted, but only to bide their time. During these hostilities the English of

Desmond, and O'Brien, a Thomond prince, assisted by the Sheriff of Cork, invaded the southern part of Connaught for the sake of plunder. In the previous year, 1224, 'the corn remained unreaped until the festival of St. Brigid [1st Feb.], when the ploughing was going on.' A famine also occurred, and was followed by severe sickness. Well might the friar historian exclaim: 'Woeful was the misfortune which God permitted to fall upon the west province in Ireland at that time; for the young warriors did not spare each other, but preyed and plundered to the utmost of their power. Women and children, the feeble and the lowly poor, perished by cold and famine in this year.'

O'Neill had inaugurated Turlough at Carnfree. He appears to have been the most popular claimant. The northern chieftains then returned home. As soon as the English left Connaught, Turlough again revolted. Hugh Cathal recalled his allies; and the opposite party, finding their cause hopeless, joined him in such numbers that Roderic's sons fled for refuge to Hugh O'Neill. The Annals suggest that the English might well respond when called on, 'for their spirit was fresh, and their struggle trifling.' Again we find it recorded that the corn remained unreaped until after the festival of St. Brigid. The wonder is, not that the harvest was not gathered in, but that there was any harvest to gather.

Soon after these events, Hugh O'Connor was captured by his English allies, and would have been sacrificed to their vengeance on some pretence, had not earl Marshall rescued him by force of arms. He escorted him out of the court, and brought him safely to Connaught; but his son and daughter remained in the hands of the English. Hugh soon found an opportunity of retaliating. A conference was appointed to take place near Athlone, between him and William de Marisco, son of the lord justice. When in sight of the English knights, the Irish prince rushed on William, and seized him, while his followers captured his attendants, one of whom, the constable of Athlone, was killed in the fray. Hugh then proceeded to plunder and burn the town, and to rescue his son and daughter, and some Connaught chieftains.

At the close of the year 1227, Turlough again took arms. The English had found it convenient to change sides, and assisted him with all their forces. Probably they feared the brave Hugh, and were jealous of the very power they had helped him to obtain. Hugh Roderic attacked the northern districts, with Richard de Burgo. Turlough Roderic marched to the peninsula of Rindown, with the viceroy. Hugh Crovderg had a narrow escape near the Curlien mountains, where his wife was captured by the English. The following year he appears to have been reconciled to the lord deputy, for he was killed in his house by an Englishman, in revenge for a liberty he had taken with a woman.

After the death of Hugh O'Connor, the brothers who had first fought against him now began to fight with each other. The English helped to foment the discord, on the principle of dividing the national forces as the best method of advancing their own power. The lord justice took part with Hugh, the younger brother, who was supported by the majority of the Connaught men, although Turlough had already been inaugurated by O'Neill. A third competitor now started up; this was Felim, brother to Hugh O'Connor. Some of the chieftains declared that they would not serve a prince who acknowledged English rule, and obliged Hugh to renounce his allegiance. But this question was settled with great promptitude. Richard de Burgo took the field, desolated the country—if, indeed, there was anything left to desolate—killed Donn Oge Mageraghty, their bravest champion, expelled Hugh, and proclaimed Felim.

The reign of this prince was of short duration. In 1231 he was taken prisoner at Meelick, despite the most solemn guarantees, by the very man who had so lately enthroned him. Hugh was reinstated, but before the end of the year Felim was released. He now assembled his forces again, and attacked Hugh, whom he killed, with several of his relations, and many English and Irish chieftains. His next exploit was to demolish the castles of Galway; Dunannon, on the river Suck, Roscommon; Hag's Castle, on Lough Mask; and Castle Rich, on Lough Corrib; all of which had been erected by Roderic's sons and their English

allies. But the tide of fortune soon turned. The invincible De Burgo entered Connaught once more, and plundered without mercy. In a pitched battle the English gained the day, principally through the skill of their cavalry and the protection of their coats-of-mail.

Felim fled to the north, and sought refuge with O'Donnell of Tir-Connell. O'Flaherty, who had always been hostile to Felim, joined the English, and, by the help of his boats, they were able to lay waste the islands of Clew Bay. Nearly all the inhabitants were killed or carried off. The victorious forces now laid siege to a castle on the rock of Lough Key, in Roscommon, which was held for O'Connor by Mac Dermod. They succeeded in taking it, but soon lost their possession by the quick-witted cleverness of an Irish soldier, who closed the gates on them when they set out on a plundering expedition. The fortress was at once demolished, that it might not fall into English hands again.

When William Pembroke died, A.D. 1231, he bequeathed his offices and large estates in England and Ireland to his brother, Richard, who is described by the chroniclers as a model of manly beauty. Henry III. prohibited his admission to the inheritance, and charged him with treason. The earl escaped to Ireland, and took possession of the lands and castles of the family, waging war upon the king until his rights were acknowledged. In 1232 Henry had granted the justiciary of England and of Ireland, with other valuable privileges, to Hubert de Burgo. Earl Richard supported him against the adventurers from Poitou and Bretagne, on whom the weak king had begun to lavish his favours. The Parliament and the barons remonstrated, and threatened to dethrone Henry, if he persevered in being governed by foreigners. And well they might; for one of these needy men, Pierre de Rivaulx, had obtained a grant for life of nearly every office and emolument in Ireland; amongst others we find mention of 'the vacant sees, and the Jews in Ireland.' Henry did his best to get his own views carried out; but earl Richard leagued with the Welsh princes, and expelled the intruders from the towns and castles in that part of the country.

The king's foreign advisers determined to destroy their great enemy as speedily as possible. Their plan was deeply laid. They despatched letters to Ireland, signed by twelve privy councillors, requiring the viceroy and barons to seize his castles, bribing them with a promise of a share in his lands. The wily Anglo-Normans demanded a charter, specifying which portion of his property each individual should have. They obtained the document, signed with the royal seal, which had been purloined for the occasion from the chancellor. The Anglo-Normans acted with detestable dissimulation. Geoffrey de Marisco tried to worm himself into the confidence of the man on whose destruction he was bent. On the 1st of April 1232, a conference was arranged to take place on the Curragh of Kildare. The viceroy was accompanied by De Lacy, De Burgo, and a large number of soldiers and mercenaries. The earl was attended by a few knights and the false De Marisco. He declined to comply with the demands of the barons, who refused to restore his castles. The treacherous De Marisco withdrew from him at this moment, and he suddenly found himself overpowered by numbers. With the thoughtfulness of true heroism, he ordered some of his attendants to hasten away with his young brother, Walter. Nearly all his retainers had been bribed to forsake him in the moment of danger; and now that the few who obeyed his last command were gone, he had to contend single-handed with the multitude. His personal bravery was not a little feared, and the coward barons, who were either afraid or ashamed to attack him individually, urged on their soldiers, until he was completely surrounded. The earl laid prostrate six of his foes, clove one knight to the middle, and struck off the hands of another, before he was captured. At last the soldiers aimed at the feet of his spirited steed, until they were cut off, and by this piece of cruelty brought its rider to the ground. A treacherous stab from behind, with a long knife, plunged to the haft in his back, completed the bloody work.

The earl was borne off, apparently lifeless, to one of his own castles, which had been seized by the viceroy. It is said that even his surgeon was bribed to prevent his re-

covery. Before submitting his wounds to the necessary treatment, he prepared for death, and received the last sacraments. He died peacefully, clasping a crucifix, on Palm Sunday, the sixteenth day after his treacherous capture. And thus expired 'the flower of chivalry,' and the grandson of Strongbow, the very man to whom England owed so much of her Irish possessions.

It could not fail to be remarked by the Irish annalists, that the first Anglo-Norman settlers had been singularly unfortunate. They can scarcely be blamed for supposing that these misfortunes were a judgment for their crimes. Before the middle of this century (the thirteenth) three of the most important families had become extinct. De Lacy, lord of Meath, died in 1241, infirm and blind; his property was inherited by his grand-daughters, in default of a male heir. Pembroke died from wounds received at a tournament. Walter, who succeeded him, also died without issue. The property came at length to Anselm, a younger brother, who also died childless; and it was eventually portioned out among the females of the family.

It is said Henry III. expressed deep grief when he heard of earl Richard's unfortunate end, and that he endeavoured to have restitution made to the family. Geoffrey de Marisco was banished. His son, William, conspired against the king, and even employed an assassin to kill him. The man would have probably accomplished his purpose, had he not been discovered accidentally by one of the queen's maids, hid under the straw of the royal bed. The real traitor was eventually captured, drawn at horses' tails to London, and hanged with the usual barbarities.

His miserable father, who had been thrice viceroy of Ireland, and a peer of that country and of England, died in exile, 'pitifully, yet undeserving of pity, for his own treason against the unfortunate earl Richard, and his son's treason against the king.' Such were the men who governed Ireland in the thirteenth century.

Treachery seems to have been the recognised plan of capturing an enemy. In 1236 this method was attempted by the government, in order to get Felim O'Connor into their power. He was invited to attend a meeting in Ath-

lone, but, fortunately for himself, he discovered the designs of his enemies soon enough to effect his escape. He was pursued to Sligo. From thence he fled to Tir-Connell, which appears to have been the Cave of Adullam at that period; though there were so many discontented persons, and it was so difficult to know which party any individual would espouse continuously, that the Adullamites were tolerably numerous. Turlough's son, Brian O'Connor, was now invested with the government of Connaught by the English, until some more promising candidate should appear. But even their support failed to enable him to keep the field. Felim returned the following year, and after defeating the soldiers of the lord justice, made Brian's people take to flight so effectually, that none of Roderic's descendants ever again attempted even to possess their ancestral lands.

The Four Masters have the following graphic entry under the year 1236: 'Heavy rains, harsh weather, and much war prevailed in this year.' The Annals of Kilronan also give a fearful account of the wars, the weather, and the crimes. They mention that Brian's people burned the church of Imlagh Brochada over the heads of O'Flynn's people, while it was full of women, children, and nuns, and had three priests in it. There were so many raids on cows, that the unfortunate animals must have had a miserable existence. How a single cow survived the amount of driving hither and thither they endured, considering their natural love of ease and contemplative habits, is certainly a mystery. In the year 1238, the Annals mention that the English erected castles in Connaught, principally in the territory from which the O'Flahertys had been expelled. This family, however, became very powerful in that part of the country in which they now settled.

As Connaught had been fairly depopulated, and its kings and princes nearly annihilated, the English turned their attention to Ulster, where they wished to carry out the same policy. The lord justice and Hugh de Lacy led an army thither, and deposed MacLoughlin, giving the government to O'Neill's son; but MacLoughlin obtained rule again, after a battle fought the following year at Carnteel.

In 1240 the king of Connaught went to England to com-

plain personally of De Burgo's oppressions and exactions; but his mission, as might be expected, was fruitless, although he was received courteously, and the king wrote to the lord justice 'to pluck out by the root that fruitless sycamore, De Burgo, which the earl of Kent, in the insolence of his power, hath planted in these parts.' However, we find that Henry was thankful to avail himself of the services of the 'fruitless sycamore' only two years after, in an expedition against the king of France. He died on the voyage to Bordeaux, and was succeeded by his son, Walter. In 1241 More O'Donnell, lord of Tir-Connell, died in Assaroe, in the monastic habit. In 1244 Felim O'Connor, and some Irish chieftains accompanied the then viceroy, FitzGerald, to Wales, where Henry had requested their assistance.

The king was nearly starved out, the Irish reinforcements were long in coming over, and the delay was visited on the head of the unfortunate justiciary, who was deprived of his office. John de Marisco was appointed in his place.

In 1257 there was a fierce conflict between the Irish, under Godfrey O'Donnell, and the English, commanded by Maurice FitzGerald. The conflict took place at Creadran-kille, near Sligo. The leaders engaged in single combat, and were both severely wounded: eventually the invaders were defeated and expelled from Lower Connaught. Godfrey's wound prevented him from following up his success, and soon after the two chieftains died. The death of O'Donnell is a curious illustration of the spirit of the times. During his illness, Brian O'Neill sent to demand hostages from the Cinel-Connaill. The messengers fled the moment they had fulfilled their commission. For all reply, O'Donnell commanded his people to assemble, to place him on his bier, and to bear him forth at their head. And thus they met the enemy. The battle took place on the banks of the river Swilly, in Donegal. O'Donnell's army conquered. The hero's bier was laid down in the street of a little village at Connal, near Letterkenny, and there he died.

O'Neill again demanded hostages; but while the men deliberated what answer they should give, Donnell Oge returned from Scotland, and though he was but a youth of eighteen, he was elected chieftain. The same year the

long-disused title of Monarch of Ireland was conferred on O'Neill by some of the Irish kings. After a conference at Caol Uisge, O'Neill and O'Connor turned their forces against the English, and a battle was fought near Downpatrick, where the Irish were defeated. O'Neill was killed, with fifteen of the O'Kanes and many other chieftains, A.D. 1260. The English were commanded by the then viceroy, Stephen Longespé, who was murdered soon after by his own people.

In the south the English suffered a severe reverse. The Geraldines were defeated by Connor O'Brien in Thomond, and again at Kilgarvan, near Kenmare, by Fineen MacCarthy. The Annals of Innisfallen give long details of this engagement, the site of which is still pointed out by the country people. John FitzThomas, the founder of the Dominican monastery at Tralee, was killed. The MacCarthys immediately proceeded to level all the castles which had been erected by the English; they were very numerous in that district. Soon after the hero of the fight was killed himself by the De Courcys.

After the defeat narrated above, Hanmer says, 'the Geraldines dared not put a plough into the ground in Desmond.' The next year, 1262, Mac William Burke marched with a great army as far as Elphin. He was joined by the lord justice and John de Verdun. They marked out a place for a castle at Roscommon, and plundered all that remained after Hugh O'Connor in Connaught. He, in his turn, counterburned and plundered so successfully, that the English were glad to ask for peace. The result was a conference at the ford of Doire-Chuire. A peace was concluded, after which Hugh O'Connor and Mac William Burke slept together in the one bed, cheerfully and happily; and the English left the country on the next day, after bidding farewell to O'Connor.

After this fraternal demonstration, Burke led an army into Desmond, and an engagement took place with MacCarthy on the side of Mangerton mountain, where both English and Irish suffered great losses. Gerald Roche, who was said to be the third best knight of his time in Ireland, was slain by MacCarthy. Burke was soon after created earl of Ulster. He and FitzGerald waged war

against each other in 1264, and desolated the country with their raids. The lord justice sided with FitzGerald, who succeeded in taking all Burke's castles in Connaught.

The quarrels of the invaders now became so general that even the lord justice was seized at a conference by Fitz-Maurice FitzGerald, and was detained prisoner, with several other nobles, for some time. During the wars between De Burgo (or Burke) and FitzGerald, the good people of Ross threatened to defend their town from all invaders; and to effect this purpose the council commanded all the citizens to assist in erecting the necessary fortifications. Even the ladies and clergy took part in the works, which were soon and successfully completed.

An Anglo-Norman poet commemorated this event in verse, and celebrates the fame of Rose, a lady who contributed largely to the undertaking, both by her presence and her liberal donations. He informs us first of the reason for this undertaking. It was those two troublesome knights, 'sire Morice e sire Wauter,' who would not permit the world to be at peace. He assures us that the citizens of New Ross were most anxious for peace, because they were merchants, and had an extensive trade, which was quite true; but he adds that they were determined to defend their rights if attacked, which was also true.

Felim O'Connor died in 1265. The Four Masters give his obituary thus: 'Felim, son of Cathal Croyderg O'Connor, the defender and supporter of his own province, and of his friends on every side, the expeller and plunderer of his foes; a man full of hospitality, prowess, and renown; the exalter of the clerical orders and men of science; a worthy materies [*sic*] of a king of Ireland for his nobility, personal shape, heroism, wisdom, clemency, and truth; died, after the victory of unction and penance, in the monastery of the Dominican friars at Roscommon, which he had himself granted to God and that order.'

He was succeeded by his son, Hugh, 'who committed his regal depredation in Offaly.' It appears to have been considered a customary thing for a new sovereign to signalise himself, as soon as possible, by some display of this description. He succeeded so well in this same depredation,

that the lord justice was alarmed, and came to assist De Burgo. The latter proposed a conference at Carrick-on-Shannon; but Hugh O'Connor suspected treachery, and contrived to get the earl's brother, William Oge, into his hands before the conference commenced. The earl 'passed the night in sadness and sorrow.' At daybreak a fierce conflict ensued. Turlough O'Brien, who was coming to assist the Connacians, was met on his way, and slain in single combat by De Burgo. But his death was fearfully avenged; great numbers of the English were slain, and immense spoils were taken from them. De Burgo died the following year, in Galway castle, after a short illness, A.D. 1271.

CHAPTER XIV.

A.D. 1271 to A.D. 1367.

THE BURKES AND THE GERALDINES.—BRUCE INVADES IRELAND.—THE STATUTE OF KILKENNY AND ITS EFFECTS.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS: Rodolph of Hapsburg Emperor of Germany—The Sicilian Vespers—Wales annexed to England—Robert Bruce crowned King of Scotland—Knights Templars established—Murder of Edward II.—Benedict XII. Pope—Edward III. invades France—Battles of Crecy and Poitiers—Wickliffe preaches in England.

SECTION I. *The Burkes and the Geraldines.*

THE Anglo-Normans had now held possession of a small portion of Ireland for nearly a century. But their rule had not been beneficial either to themselves or to the Irish. The latter, already but too willing to engage in petty wars with each other, had a new opportunity of exercising this propensity. The former never made themselves sufficiently popular to secure the affections of the people, and hence were obliged to suffer all the disadvantages of living in a continual state of apprehension.

Henry III. died in 1272, after a reign of fifty-six years. He was succeeded by his son, Edward I., who was in the Holy Land at the time of his father's death. In 1257 his father had made him a grant of Ireland, with the express condition that it should not be separated from England. It would appear as if there had been some apprehensions of such an event since the time of prince John. The English monarchs apparently wished the benefit of English laws to be extended to the native population, but their desire was

invariably frustrated by such of their nobles as had obtained grants of land in Ireland, and whose object appears to have been the extermination, or, if this was not possible, the depression of the Irish race.

Ireland was at this time convulsed by domestic dissensions. Sir Robert D'Ufford, the justiciary, was accused of fomenting the discord; but he appears to have considered that he only did his duty to his royal master. When sent for into England, to account for his conduct, he 'satisfied the king that all was not true that he was charged withal; and for further contentment yielded this reason, that in policy he thought it expedient to wink at one knave cutting off another, and that would save the king's coffers, and purchase peace to the land. Whereat the king smiled, and bid him return to Ireland.' The saving was questionable; for to prevent an insurrection by timely concession, is incomparably less expensive than to suppress it when it has arisen. The 'purchase of peace' was equally visionary; for the Irish never appear to have been able to sit down quietly under unjust oppression, however hopeless resistance might be.

As the viceroys were allowed a handsome income, they were naturally anxious to keep their post. The first mention of salary is that granted to Geoffrey de Marisco. By letters patent, dated at Westminster, July 4th, 1226, he was allowed an annual stipend of 580*l*. This was a considerable sum for times when wheat was only 2*s*. a quarter, fat hogs 2*s*. each, and French wine 2*s*. a gallon.

Hugh O'Connor renewed hostilities in 1272, by destroying the English castle of Roscommon. He died soon after, and his successor had but brief enjoyment of his dignity. In 1277 a horrible act of treachery took place, which the unfortunate Irish specially mention in their remonstrance to Pope John XXII., as a striking instance of the double-dealing of the English and the descendants of the Anglo-Normans then in Ireland. Thomas de Clare obtained a grant of Thomond from Edward I. It had already been secured to its rightful owners, the O'Briens, who probably paid, as was usual, an immense fine for liberty to keep their own property. The English earl knew he could only ob-

tain possession by treachery ; he therefore leagued with Roe O'Brien, 'so that they entered into gossiped with each other, and took vows by bells and relics to retain mutual friendship ;' or, as the Annals of Clonmacnois have it, 'they swore to each other all the oaths in Munster, as bells, relics of saints, and bachalls, to be true to each other for ever.'

The unfortunate Irish prince little suspected all the false oaths his friend had taken, or all the villainy he premeditated. There was another claimant for the crown as usual, Turlough O'Brien. He was defeated, but nevertheless the earl turned to his side, got Brian Roe into his hands, and had him dragged to death between horses. The wretched perpetrator of this diabolical deed gained little by his crime, for O'Brien's sons obtained a victory over him the following year. At one time he was so hard pressed as to be obliged to surrender at discretion, after living on horse-flesh for several days. In 1281 the unprincipled earl tried the game of dissension, and set up Donough, the son of the man he had murdered, against Turlough, whom he had supported just before. But Donough was slain two years after, and Turlough continued master of Thomond until his death, in 1306. De Clare was slain by the O'Briens, in 1286.

In 1280 the Irish who lived near the Anglo-Norman settlers presented a petition to the English king, praying that they might be admitted to the privileges of the English law. Edward issued a writ to the then lord justice, D'Ufford, desiring him to assemble the lords spiritual and temporal of the 'land of Ireland,' to deliberate on the subject, but the writ was not attended to ; and even if it had been, the lords 'spiritual and temporal' appear to have decided long before, that the Irish should not participate in the benefit of English laws.

Hugh Boy O'Neill was slain in 1283. He is styled 'the head of the liberality and valour of the Irish ; the most distinguished in the north for bestowing jewels and riches ; the most formidable and victorious of his tribe ; and the worthy heir to the throne of Ireland.' The last sentence is observable, as it shows that the English monarch was not then considered king of Ireland. In 1285 Theobald Butler died at Berehaven. After his death a large army was col-

lected by lord Geoffrey Geneville, and some other English nobles. They marched into Offaly, where the Irish had just seized the castle of Leix. Here they had a brief triumph, and seized upon a great prey of cows ; but the native forces rallied immediately, and, with the aid of Carbry O'Melaghlin, routed the enemy completely. Theobald de Verdun lost both his men and his horses, and Gerald FitzMaurice was taken prisoner the day after the battle, it is said through the treachery of his own followers. The Four Masters do not mention this event, but it is recorded at length in the Annals of Clonmacnois. They add: 'There was a great snow this year, which from Christmas to St. Brigid's day continued.'

SECTION II. *The Irish form of Government.*

In order to understand Irish history thoroughly, it is necessary to call the attention of the reader to the peculiar complications of interests which rendered government so difficult for centuries, and which have, unhappily, left their impress for evil on that country to the present day.

Before the arrival of the Normans, Ireland was governed by an Ard-Righ, or chief monarch, and four provincial kings. The ard-righ was monarch merely in name, and his authority was barely acknowledged by the payment of certain 'rights,' chiefly in kind, such as cattle, garments of different kinds, &c. He in his turn was obliged to bestow certain rights on his dependencies. But there was a further complication of government which arose from the independence of petty chieftains, who occupied large territories under the provincial kings, and were for all practical purposes as independent of them as they were of the ard-righ. The Danish invasion caused a further division of interest, but that had passed away at the period which now occupies our attention. The Danish settlers were naturalised and principally occupied the maritime towns, where they devoted themselves to commerce.

Constant war between the provincial kings and the petty chieftains was the result of this mode of government. A powerful and able monarch, like Brian Boru, might have

consolidated these various interests, and made the nation one. But at a time when communication was so difficult, and half Munster might be invaded and sacked before it could be known to the *ard-riagh* in Leinster, prosperity could only have been attained under the government of one sole monarch.

It might be supposed that the English invasion of Ireland would have effected this most desirable end: But this was far from being the case: it only added threefold to the complications already existing. The English kings were too much occupied at one time with their French possessions, and at another period with domestic difficulties, to give any steady attention to forming a proper government in Ireland. They governed by viceroys, or justiciaries, as they were at first denominated. If the viceroy had been intrusted with absolute power, and if he had had a large army at his command, he might have effected some reform. But these officers were appointed more as a matter of convenience than of policy, and were so frequently changed, that they were a mere nominal power in the state. Hence they soon fell into the custom of the country, and merely used their office as a pretext for plunder, without the slightest regard to the interests of either country.

The real rulers of Ireland, after the native kings had lost their power and prestige, were the descendants of the Norman nobles who had come over with Strongbow. Of these the principal, because the most powerful, were the De Burgos, who after a time took the Celtic appellation of Burkes, and the Fitzgeralds, or Geraldines. Unfortunately for the prosperity of the country, these two families were perpetually at war, or, if not at war, undermining each other's influence by diplomacy. Under such circumstances no country could prosper. The viceroy and the nobles agreed only on one subject, to harass the native Irish, and to extort from them all they possibly could. From the commencement the Irish, by degrees, joined the standard of one or other of the most powerful nobles, but for several centuries after the Norman invasion they did this merely as a matter of convenience, and at any moment were ready to transfer their allegiance to others.

John FitzThomas FitzGerald was the immediate founder of the two great branches of the Geraldines; but the family came to Ireland with Strongbow, and were descended from Raymond *le Gros*, who soon assumed considerable state and obtained great influence. It will be remembered, that when FitzAldelm was sent to Ireland as justiciary by Henry II., after the death of Strongbow, he at once determined to curb the power of his rival. FitzAldelm was the head of the family of De Burgo. In 1224 Henry III. gave the whole of Connaught to Richard de Burgo, called the great earl of Connaught. But the gift was merely nominal, for in that part of Ireland no settlement could be kept, except at the point of the sword. In 1240 the lord justice was ordered by the same king to 'pluck him out by the root,' he had caused so much dissension among the Norman nobles; but it was easier to issue such a mandate than to enforce it. In 1286 the power of the De Burgos culminated. Richard de Burgo, commonly known as the Red Earl, led his armies through the country as sovereign lord, and even in official documents his name was placed before that of the viceroy.

This nobleman was the direct descendant of FitzAldelm de Burgo, who had married Isabella, a natural daughter of Richard Cœur de Lion, and widow of Llewellyn, prince of Wales. Walter de Burgo became earl of Ulster in right of his wife, Maud, daughter of the younger Hugh de Lacy. The Red Earl's grandson, William, who was murdered, in 1333, by the English of Ulster, and whose death was most cruelly revenged, was the third and last of the De Burgo earls of Ulster. The Burkes of Connaught are descended from William, the younger brother of Walter, the first earl. In 1543 Mac William de Burgo was created earl of Clanrickard. He was known by the sobriquet of *Ulick-na-gecann*, or Ulick of the Heads, from the number of persons whom he had decapitated in his wars.

In 1290 John FitzThomas FitzGerald, who had been created baron of Offaly, obtained large grants of land from Edward I., including the lordships of Kildare and Rathangan. One of his sons, John, was subsequently created earl of Kildare; the other, Maurice, earl of Desmond,

Further particulars will be given in the next section; the present object being merely to give a general idea of the rise and power of those important families.

SECTION III.

Feuds between the Norman nobles, the native Irish, and the Lord Justices.

In 1286 De Burgo laid claim to that portion of Meath which Theobald de Verdun held in right of his mother, the daughter of Walter de Lacy. He besieged De Verdun in his castle of Athlone, A.D. 1288, but the result has not been recorded. De Toleburne, justiciary of Ireland, died this year; the king seized on all his property, to pay debts which he owed to the crown. It appears he was possessed of a considerable number of horses.

Jean de Samford, archbishop of Dublin, administered the affairs of the colony until 1290, when he was succeeded by Sir William de Vesci, a Yorkshire man, and a royal favourite.

In 1289 Carbry O'Melaghlin possessed a considerable amount of power in Meath, and was therefore extremely obnoxious to the English settlers. An army was collected to overthrow his government, headed by Richard Tuite (the Great Baron), and assisted by O'Connor, king of Connaught. They were defeated, and 'Tuite, with his kinsmen, and Siccus O'Kelly, were slain.'

Immediately after the arrival of the new lord justice, a quarrel sprung up between him and FitzGerald, baron of Offaly. They both appeared before the Council; and if Hollinshed's account may be credited, they used language which would scarcely be tolerated in Billingsgate. FitzGerald proposed an appeal to arms, which was accepted by his adversary. Edward summoned both parties to Westminster. FitzGerald came duly equipped for the encounter, but De Vesci had fled the country. He was, however, acquitted by Parliament, on the ground of informality, and the affair was referred to the royal decision. According to Hollinshed's account, the king observed that 'although De

Vesci had conveyed his person to France, he had left his land behind him in Ireland;’ and bestowed the lordships of Kildare and Rathangan on his adversary.

Wogan was viceroy during the close of this century, and had ample employment in pacifying the Geraldines and Burkes—an occupation in which he was not always successful. Thomas FitzMaurice, ‘of the ape,’ father of the first earl of Desmond, had preceded him in the office of justiciary. This nobleman obtained his cognomen from the circumstance of having been carried, when a child, by a tame ape round the walls of a castle, and then restored to his cradle without the slightest injury.

The English possessions in Ireland at the close of this century consisted of the ‘Liberties’ and ten counties—Dublin, Louth, Kildare, Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, Roscommon, and part of Connaught. The ‘Liberties’ were those of Connaught and Ulster, under De Burgo; Meath, divided between De Mortimer and De Verdun; Wexford, Carlow, and Kilkenny, under the jurisdiction of the respective representatives of the Marshal heiresses; Thomond, claimed by De Clare; and Desmond, partly controlled by the FitzGerald. Sir William Davies says: ‘These absolute palatines made barons and knights; did exercise high justice in all points within their territories; erected courts for criminal and civil cases, and for their own revenues, in the same forms as the king’s courts were established at Dublin; made their own judges, sheriffs, coroners, and escheators, so as the king’s writ did not run in these counties (which took up more than two parts of the English colonies), but only in the church lands lying within the same, which were called the Cross, wherein the king made a sheriff; and so in each of these counties-palatine there were two sheriffs, one of the Liberty, and another of the Cross. These undertakers were not tied to any form of plantation, but all was left to their discretion and pleasure; and although they builded castles and made freeholds, yet there were no tenures or services reserved to the crown, but the lords drew all the respect and dependency of the common people unto themselves.’ Hence the strong objection which the said lords had to the introduc-

tion of English law ; for had this been accomplished, it would have proved a serious check to their own advancement for the present time, though, had they wisdom to have seen it, in the end it would have proved their best safeguard, and consolidated their power. The fact was, these settlers aimed at living like the native princes, oblivious or ignorant of the circumstance that these princes were as much amenable to law as the lowest of their subjects, and that they governed by a prescriptive right of centuries. If they made war, it was for the benefit of the tribe, not for their individual aggrandizement ; if they condemned to death, the sentence would be in accordance with the Brehon law, which the people knew and revered. The settlers owned no law but their own will ; and the unhappy people whom they governed could not fail to see that their sole object was their own benefit, and to attain an increase of territorial possessions at any cost.

On the lands thus plundered many native septs existed, whom neither war nor famine could quite exterminate. Their feelings towards the new lord of the soil can easily be understood ; it was a feeling of open hostility, of which they made no secret. They considered the usurper's claim unjust ; and to deprive him of the possessions which he had obtained by force or fraud, was the dearest wish of their hearts.

Such portions of the country as lay outside the land of which the Anglo-Normans had possessed themselves, were called ' marches.' These were occupied by troops of natives, who continually resisted the aggressions of the invader, always anxious to add to his territory. These troops constantly made good reprisals for what had been taken, by successful raids on the castle or the garrison. Thus occupied for several centuries, they acquired a taste for this roving life ; and they can scarcely be reproached for not having advanced in civilisation with the age, by those who placed such invincible obstacles to their progress.

The most important royal castles, after Dublin, were those of Athlone, Roscommon, and Randown. They were governed by a constable, and supplied by a garrison paid out of the revenues of the colony. The object of these

establishments was to keep down the natives, who were accordingly taxed to keep the garrisons.

It will be remembered that Sir John Wogan had been appointed viceroy at the close of the thirteenth century. He brought about a two years' truce between the Geraldines and Burkes' (De Burgos), and then summoned a Parliament at Kilkenny, A.D. 1295. The roll of this Parliament contains only twenty-seven names. Richard, earl of Ulster, is the first on the list. The principal acts passed were : one for revising king John's division of the country into counties ; another for providing a more strict guard over the marches, so as to 'keep out the Irish.' The Irish were not permitted to have any voice in the settlement of the affairs of their country, and it was a rebellious symptom if they demurred. Nevertheless, in 1303, king Edward was graciously pleased to accept the services of Irish soldiers in his expedition against Scotland. It is said that, in 1299, his army was composed principally of Welsh and Irish, and that on this occasion they were royally feasted at Roxburgh castle.

The O'Connors of Offaly were for nearly two centuries the most heroic, and therefore the most dangerous of the 'Irish enemies.' Maurice O'Connor Faly and his brother, Calvagh, were the heads of the sept. The latter had obtained the soubriquet of 'the Great Rebel,' from his earnest efforts to free his country. He had defeated the English in a battle, in which Meiller de Exeter and several others were slain ; he had taken the castle of Kildare ; and, as he could not be taken himself by fair means, treachery was employed.

The chiefs of Offaly were invited to dinner on Trinity Sunday, A.D. 1315, by Sir Pierce MacFeorais (Peter Bermingham). As they rose up from table they were cruelly massacred, one by one, with twenty-four of their followers. This black deed took place at Bermingham's own castle of Carbury, county Kildare. Bermingham was arraigned before king Edward, but no justice was ever obtained for this foul murder.

In the year 1308, Piers Gaveston, the unworthy favourite of Edward II., was appointed viceroy. The English barons

had long been disgusted by his insolence, and jealous of his influence. He was banished to France—or rather a decree to that effect was issued—but Ireland was substituted, for it was considered a banishment to be sent to that country. Gaveston, with his usual love of display, was attended by a magnificent suite, and commenced his viceroyalty in high state. He was accompanied by his wife, Marguerite, who was closely connected with the royal family.

Edward appears to have had apprehensions as to the kind of reception his favourite was likely to receive from the powerful earl of Ulster; he therefore wrote him a special letter, requesting his aid and counsel for the viceroy. But De Burgo knew his own power too well; and instead of complying with the royal request, he marched off to Drogheda, and then to Trim, where he employed himself in giving sumptuous entertainments, and conferring the honour of knighthood on his adherents. The favourite was recalled to England at the end of a year. Edward had accompanied him to Bristol, on his way to Ireland; he now went to meet him at Chester on his return. Three years later he paid the forfeit of his head for all these condescensions.

In 1309 De Wogan was again appointed governor. The exactions of the nobles had risen to such a height, that some of their number began to fear the effects would recoil on themselves. High food rates and fearful poverty then existed, in consequence of the cruel exactions of the Anglo-Normans on their own dependants. They lived frequently in their houses, and quartered their soldiers and followers on them, without offering them the smallest remuneration. A statute was now made which pronounced these proceedings 'open robbery,' and accorded the right of suit in such cases to the crown. But this enactment could only be a dead letter. We have already seen how the crown dealt with the most serious complaints of the natives; and even had justice been awarded to the complainant, the right of eviction was in the hands of the nearest noble, and the unfortunate tenant would have his choice between starvation in the woods or marauding on the highways.

The viceroy had abundant occupation in suppressing the feuds both of the Irish and the colonists. Civil war raged

in Thomond, but the quarrels between the Anglo-Norman settlers in the same province appear to have been more extensive and less easily appeased. In a note to the Annals of Clonmacnois, MacGeoghan observes, that 'there reigned more dissensions, strife, warrs, and debates between the Englishmen themselves, in the beginning of the conquest of this kingdome, than between the Irishmen; as by perusing the warrs between the Lacies of Meath, John Coursey, earle of Ulster, William Marshal, and the English of Meath and Munster, Mac Gerald, the Burke, Butler, and Cogan, may appear.'

SECTION IV.

Bruce's Campaign in Ireland. The Irish wish to make him King.

Edward Bruce landed in Ireland on the 16th of May, A.D. 1315. He brought with him an army of six thousand men, the heroes of Bannockburn. Multitudes of the Irish flocked round his standard, hoping that he would deliver them from the oppression under which they had so long groaned; and in order to obtain the sanction of the Holy See, the Irish chieftain, Donnell O'Neill, king of Ulster, in union with the other princes of the province, wrote a spirited but respectful remonstrance to the pope, on the part of the nation, explaining why they were anxious to transfer the kingdom to Bruce.

In this document the remonstrants first state, simply and clearly, that the holy father was deceived; that they were persuaded his intentions were pure and upright; and that his holiness only knew the Irish through the misrepresentations of their enemies. They state their wish 'to save their country from foul and false imputations,' and to give a correct idea of their state. They speak, truthfully and mournfully, 'of the sad remains of a kingdom, which has groaned so long beneath the tyranny of English kings, of their ministers and their barons;' and they add, 'that some of the latter, though born in the island, continued to exercise the same extortions, rapine, and cruelties, as their ancestors inflicted.' They remind the pontiff that 'it is to

Milesian princes, and not to the English, that the Church is indebted for those lands and possessions of which it has been stripped by the sacrilegious cupidity of the English.' They boldly assert that 'it was on the strength of false statements' that Adrian transferred the sovereignty of the country to Henry II., 'the probable murderer of St. Thomas à Becket.' Details are then given of English oppression, to some of which we have already referred. They state that the people have been obliged to take refuge, 'like beasts, in the mountains, in the woods, marshes, and caves. Even *there* we are not safe. They envy us these desolate abodes.' They contrast the engagements made by Henry to the Church, and his fair promises, with the grievous failure in their fulfilment. They give clear details of the various enactments made by the English, one of which merits special attention, as an eternal refutation of the false and base charge against the Irish of having refused to accept English laws, because they were a lawless race. They state (1) 'that no Irishman who is not a prelate can take the law against an Englishman, but every Englishman may take the law against an Irishman.' (2) That any Englishman may kill an Irishman, 'falsely and perfidiously, *as often happened*, of whatsoever rank, innocent or guilty, and yet he cannot be brought before the English tribunals: and further, that the English murderer can seize the property of his victim.' When such was the state of Ireland, as described calmly in an important document still extant, we cannot be surprised that the people eagerly sought the slightest hope of redress, or the merest chance of deliverance from such oppression. In conclusion, the Irish princes inform the pope, 'that in order to obtain their object the more speedily and securely, they had invited the gallant Edward Bruce, to whom, being descended from their most noble ancestors, they had transferred, as they justly might, their own right of royal domain.'¹

A few years later Pope John wrote a letter to Edward III., in which he declares that the object of Pope Adrian's bull

¹ The original Latin is preserved by Fordun. Translations may be found in the Abbé MacGeoghegan's *History of Ireland*, p. 323, and in Plowden's *Historical Review*.

had been entirely neglected, and that the 'most unheard-of miseries and persecutions had been inflicted on the Irish.' He recommends that monarch to adopt a very different policy, and to remove the cause of complaint, 'lest it might be too late hereafter to apply a remedy, when the spirit of revolt had grown stronger.'

The accounts of Bruce's Irish campaign have not been very clearly given. The Four Masters mention it briefly, notwithstanding its importance; the fullest account is contained in the Annals of Clonmacnois, which agree with the Annals of Connaught. Dundalk, Ardee, and some other places in the north were taken in rapid succession, and a good supply of victuals and wine was obtained from the former place. The viceroy, Sir Edmund le Botiller, marched to attack the enemy; but the proud earl of Ulster refused his assistance, and probably the justiciary feared to offend him by offering to remain. Meanwhile, Felim, king of Connaught, who had hitherto been an ally of the Red Earl, came over to the popular side; and the English forces suffered a defeat at Connor, in which William de Burgo and several knights were taken prisoners. This battle was fought on the 10th of September, according to Grace's Annals, and the battle of Dundalk on the 29th of July.

After the battle of Connor, the earl of Ulster fled to Connaught, where he remained a year; the remainder of his forces shut themselves up in Carrickfergus. Bruce was proclaimed king of Ireland, and marched southward to pursue his conquests. The earl of Moray was sent to Edinburgh, to invite king Robert over, and the Scotch armies prepared to spend the winter with the De Lacys in Westmeath.

When the Christmas festivities were concluded, Bruce again took the field, and defeated the viceroy at Ardsclull, in the county Kildare. In the month of February some of the chief nobles of the English colony met in Dublin, and signed a manifesto, in which they denounced the traitorous conduct of the Scotch enemy, in trying to wrest Ireland from their lord, 'Monsieur Edward,' taking special care to herald forth their own praises for loyalty, and to hint at the compensation which might be required for the same.

But the Irish were again their own enemies ; and to their miserable dissensions, though it can never justify the cruelties of their oppressors, must be attributed most justly nearly all their misfortunes. Had the Irish united against the invaders, there can be no doubt that, with the assistance of the Scotch army, they would have obtained a complete and glorious victory, though it may be doubtful whether any really beneficial results would have accrued to the country, should disunion continue. When Felim O'Connor joined Bruce, Rory O'Connor and his clan commenced depredations on his territory. Felim returned to give him battle, and defeated him with terrible slaughter. Thus men and time were lost in useless and ignoble strife. Rory was slain in this engagement—a fate he richly merited ; and Felim was once more free to fight for his country. He was joined by the O'Briens of Thomond, and they marched together to attack Athenry, which was defended by Burke and Bermingham. A fierce conflict ensued. The Irish fought with their usual valour ; but English coats-of-mail were proof against their attacks, and English cross-bows mowed down their ranks.

The brave young Felim was slain, with eleven thousand of his followers, and the Irish cause was irretrievably injured, perhaps more by the death of the leader than by the loss of the men. This disaster took place on the 10th of August 1316.

Still the Irish were not daunted. The O'Tooles and O'Byrnes rose in Wicklow, the O'Mores in Leix. Edward Bruce again appeared before Carrickfergus. The siege was protracted until September, when Robert Bruce arrived, and found the English so hard pressed, that they ate hides, and fed on the bodies of eight Scots whom they had made prisoners. In the year 1317 the Scottish army was computed at twenty thousand men, besides their Irish auxiliaries. After Shrovetide, king Robert and his brother crossed the Boyne, and marched to Castleknock, near Dublin, where they took Hugh Tyrrell prisoner, and obtained possession of the fortress. There was no little fear in Dublin castle thereupon, for the Anglo-Normans distrusted each other. And well they might. The De Lacys had solemnly pledged

their fidelity, yet they were now found under the standard of Bruce. Even De Burgo was suspected ; for his daughter, Elizabeth, was the wife of the Scottish king. When the invading army approached Dublin, he was seized and confined in the castle.

Dublin had been more than once peopled by the citizens of Bristol. They were naturally in the English interest, and disposed to offer every resistance. They fortified Dublin so strongly, even at the expense of burning the suburbs and pulling down churches, that Bruce deemed it more prudent to avoid an encounter, and withdrew towards the Salmon Leap, whence he led his forces southward as far as Limerick, without encountering any serious opposition.

But a reverse was even then at hand. An Anglo-Irish army was formed, headed by the earl of Kildare ; famine added its dangers ; and on the 1st of May, Robert Bruce returned to Scotland, leaving his brother, Edward, with the earl of Moray, to contend, as best they could, against the twofold enemy. In 1318 a good harvest relieved the country in some measure from one danger ; two cardinals were despatched from Rome to attempt to release it from the other. On the 14th October, in the same year, the question was finally decided. An engagement took place at Faughard, near Dundalk. On the one side was the Scotch army, headed by Bruce, and assisted (from what motive it is difficult to determine) by the De Lacys and other Anglo-Norman lords ; on the other side the English army, commanded by lord John Bermingham. The numbers on each side have been differently estimated ; but it is probable the death of Edward Bruce was the turning point of the conflict. He was slain by a knight named John Maupas, who paid for his valour with his life. Bermingham obtained the earldom of Louth, and the manor of Ardee as a reward for Bruce's head ; and the unfortunate Irish were left to their usual state of chronic resistance to English oppression. The head of the Scottish chieftain was 'salted in a chest,' and placed unexpectedly, with other heads, at a banquet, before Edward II. The English king neither swooned nor expressed surprise ; but the Scotch ambassadors, who were present, rushed horror-stricken from the

apartment. The king, however, was 'right blyth,' and glad to be delivered so easily of a 'felon foe.' John de Lacy and Sir Robert de Coulragh, who had assisted the said 'felon,' paid dearly for their treason. They were starved to death in prison, 'on three morsels of the worst bread, and three draughts of foul water on alternate days, until life became extinct.'

SECTION V.

The Butler family becomes powerful; their feuds with the De Burgos and Geraldines.

The Butler family now appear prominently in Irish history for the first time. It would appear from Carte, that the name was originally Gualtier, Butler being an addition distinctive of office. The family was established in Ireland by Theobald Walter (Gualtier), an Anglo-Norman of high rank, who received extensive grants of land from Henry II., together with the hereditary office of 'Pincerna,' Boteler, or Butler, in Ireland, to the kings of England. In this capacity he and his successors were to attend these monarchs at their coronation, and present them with the first cup of wine. In return they obtained many privileges. On account of the quarrels between this family and the De Burgos, De Berminghams, Le Poers, and the southern Geraldines, royal letters were issued, commanding them, under pain of forfeiture, to desist from warring on each other. The result was a meeting of the factious peers in Dublin, at which they engaged to keep the 'king's peace.' On the following day they were entertained by the earl of Ulster; the next day, at St. Patrick's, by Maurice FitzThomas; and the third day by the viceroy and his fellow Knights Hospitallers, who had succeeded the Templars at Kilmainham. The earldoms of Ormonde and Desmond were now created. The heads of these families long occupied an important place in Irish affairs. Butler died on his return from a pilgrimage to Compostella, and was succeeded by his eldest son, James—'a liberal, friendly, pleasant, and stately youth'—who was married this year to king Edward's cousin, Eleanor, daughter of the earl of

Essex. The Desmond peerage was created in 1329, when the county palatine of Kerry was given to that family.

The quarrels of these nobles seemed to have originated, or rather to have culminated, in an insulting speech made by Poer to FitzGerald, whom he designated as a 'rhymer.' The 'king's peace' did not last long; and in 1330 the lord justice was obliged to imprison both Desmond and Ulster, that being the only method in which they could be 'bound over to keep the peace.' The following year Sir Anthony de Lucy was sent to Ireland, as he had a reputation for summary justice. He summoned a Parliament in Dublin: but as the barons did not condescend to attend, he adjourned it to Kilkenny. This arrangement also failed to procure their presence. He seized Desmond, who had been placed in the care of the sheriff of Limerick, and conveyed him to Dublin castle. Several other nobles were arrested at the same time. Sir William Bermingham was confined with his son in the keep of Dublin castle, which still bears his name. He was hanged there soon after. De Lucy was recalled to England, probably in consequence of the indignation which was excited by this execution.

The years 1333 and 1334 were disgraced by fearful crimes, in which the English and Irish equally participated. In the former year the earl of Ulster seized Walter de Burgo, and starved him to death in the Green Castle of Innishowen. The sister of the man thus cruelly murdered was married to Sir Richard Mandeville, and she urged her husband to avenge her brother's death. Mandeville took the opportunity of accompanying the earl with some others to hear mass at Carrickfergus, and killed him as he was fording a stream. The young earl's death was avenged by his followers, who slew three hundred men. His wife, Maud, fled to England with her only child, a daughter, named Elizabeth, who was a year old. The Burkes of Connaught, who were the junior branch of the family, fearing that she would soon marry again, and transfer the property to other hands, immediately seized the Connaught estates, declared themselves independent of English law, and renounced the English language and customs. They were too powerful to be resisted with impunity; and while

the ancestor of the Clanrickardes assumed the Irish title of Mac William *Oughter*, or the Upper, Edmund Burke, the progenitor of the viscounts of Mayo, took the appellation of Mac William *Eighter*, or the Lower. This was not the last time when English settlers identified themselves, not merely from policy, but even from inclination, with the race whom they had once hated and oppressed.

In 1334 the English and Irish marched into Munster to attack MacNamara, and added the guilt of sacrilege to their other crimes, by burning a church, with one hundred and eighty persons and two priests in it, none of whom were permitted to escape. Another outrage was committed by the settlers, who appear to have been quite as jealous of each other's property as the Irish clans; for we find that one Edmund Burke drowned another of the same name in Lough Mask, and as usual a war ensued between the partisans of each family. After a sanguinary struggle, Turlough O'Connor drove the murderer out of the province. But this prince soon after ruined himself by his wickedness. He married Burke's widow, and put away his own lawful wife; from which it may be concluded that he had avenged the crime either from love of this woman, or from a desire to possess himself of her husband's property. His immoral conduct alienated the other chieftains, and after three years' war he was deposed.

Edward had thrown out some hints of an intended visit to Ireland, probably to conceal his real purpose of marching to Scotland. Desmond was released on bail in 1333, after eighteen months' durance, and repaired with some troops to assist the king at Halidon Hill. Soon after we find him fighting in Kerry, while the earl of Kildare was similarly occupied in Leinster. In 1339 twelve hundred Kerry men were slain in one battle. The Anglo-Norman, FitzNicholas, was among the number of prisoners. He died in prison soon after. This gentleman, on one occasion, dashed into the assize court at Tralee, and killed Dermot, the heir of the MacCarthy More, as he sat with the judge on the bench. As MacCarthy was Irish, the crime was suffered to pass without further notice.

In 1341 Edward took sweeping measures for a general

reform of the Anglo-Norman lords, or, more probably, he hoped, by threats of such measures, to obtain subsidies for his continental wars. The colonists, however, were in possession, and rather too powerful to brook such interference. Sir John Morris was sent over to carry the royal plans into execution, but though he took prompt measures, the affair turned out a complete failure. The lords refused to attend his Parliament, and summoned one of their own, in which they threw the blame of maladministration on the English officials sent over from time to time to manage Irish affairs.

In 1334 Sir Ralph Ufford, who had married Maud Plantagenet, the widow of the earl of Ulster, was appointed justiciary of Ireland. He commenced with a high hand, and endeavoured especially to humble the Desmonds. The earl refused to attend the Parliament, and assembled one of his own at Callan; but the new viceroy marched into Leinster with an armed force, seized his lands, farmed them out for the benefit of the crown, got possession of the strongholds of Castleisland and Inniskistiy in Kerry, and hanged Sir Eustace Poer, Sir William Grant, and Sir John Cottrell, who commanded these places, on the charge of illegal exactions of coigne and livery. The viceroy also contrived to get the earl of Kildare into his power; and it is probable that his harsh measures would have involved England in an open war with her colony and its English settlers, had not his sudden death put an end to his summary exercise of justice.

It is said that his wife, Maud, who could scarcely forget the murder of her first husband, urged him on to many of these violent acts; and it was remarked, that though she had maintained a queenly state on her first arrival in Ireland, she was obliged to steal away from that country, with Ufford's remains enclosed in a leaden coffin, in which her treasure was concealed. Her second husband was buried near her first, in the convent of Poor Clares, at Camposey, near Ufford, in Suffolk.

The Black Death broke out in Ireland in the year 1348. The annalists give fearful accounts of this visitation. It appeared in Dublin first, and so fatal were its effects, that four thousand souls are said to have perished there from

August to Christmas. It was remarked that this pestilence attacked the English specially, while the 'Irish-born'—particularly those who lived in the mountainous parts of the country—escaped its ravages. We have already mentioned the account of this calamity given by Friar Clynn, who himself fell a victim to the plague, soon after he had recorded his mournful forebodings. Several other pestilences, more or less severe, visited the country at intervals during the next few years.

Lionel, the third son of Edward III., who, it will be remembered, was earl of Ulster in right of his wife, Isabella, was now appointed viceroy. He landed in Dublin, on the 15th of September 1360, with an army of one thousand men. From the first moment of his arrival he exercised the most bitter hostility to the Irish, and enhanced the invidious distinction between the English by birth and the English by descent. Long before his arrival the 'mere Irishman' was excluded from the offices of mayor, bailiff, or officer in any town within the English dominions, as well as from all ecclesiastical promotion. Lionel carried matters still further, for he forbid any 'Irish by birth to come near his army.' But he soon found that he could not do without soldiers, even should they have the misfortune to be Irish, and as a hundred of his best men were killed soon after this insulting proclamation, he was graciously pleased to allow all the king's subjects to assist him in his war against 'the enemy.' He soon found it advisable to make friends with the colonists, and obtained the very substantial offering of two years' revenue of their lands, as a return for his condescension.

CHAPTER XV.

A.D. 1367 TO A.D. 1509.

THE STATUTE OF KILKENNY.—VISIT OF RICHARD II.
TO IRELAND.—WARS OF THE ROSES.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS: The Stuart dynasty established in Scotland—Accession of Richard II.—Crusade against the Turks—Battle of Agincourt—Invention of Printing—the English deprived of their French dominions—Battle of Bosworth Field—Discovery of America—Death of Charles VIII. of France—League of Cambray—Death of Henry VII. and Accession of Henry VIII.

SECTION I. *Enactment of the Statute of Kilkenny.*

THE enactment of the Statute of Kilkenny is one of the most important events in Irish history. Lionel returned to England in 1364, when he was created duke of Clarence and twice during the three following years he was appointed justiciary. In the year 1367 he held a Parliament at Kilkenny, when this statute was passed. It is said that one of the principal motives which suggested this statute was the suppression, or even extermination, of the descendants of the original settlers, who, in process of time, had become almost naturalised by intermarriage with the Irish. It was the policy of the English government, at that time, to keep the two races distinct and at variance, to preserve a sort of balance of power. It is obvious, that if any considerable number of these powerful nobles of English descent united with the Irish against the new arrivals who were continually coming to claim a share in the land, they would have a poor chance of success.

This statute enacts—(1) that any alliance with the Irish by marriage, nurture of infants, or gossipred [standing

sponsors], should be punishable as high treason; (2) that any man of English race taking an Irish name, or using the Irish language, apparel, or customs, should forfeit all his lands; (3) that to adopt or submit to the Brehon law was treason; (4) that the English should not make war upon the natives without the permission of government; (5) that the English should not permit the Irish to pasture or graze upon their lands, nor admit them to any ecclesiastical benefices or religious houses, nor entertain their minstrels or rhymers. (6) It was also forbidden to impose or cess any soldiers upon the *English* subjects against their will, under pain of felony; and some regulations were made to restrain the abuse of sanctuary, and to prevent the great lords from laying heavy burdens upon gentlemen and freeholders.

The fourth clause might have been beneficial to the Irish if it had been strictly observed. The other enactments were observed; but this, which required the consent of the government to make war on the natives, was allowed to remain a dead letter. In any case, the government would seldom have refused any permission which might help to lessen the number of the 'Irish enemy.'

On the retirement of the duke of Clarence, in 1367, the viceroyalty was accepted by Gerald, fourth earl of Desmond, styled 'the poet.' He was one of the most learned men of the day, and thereby, as usual, obtained the reputation of practising magic.

Sir Richard Pembridge refused the office of viceroy in 1369. He was stripped of all his lands and offices held under the crown, as a punishment for his contumacy, but this appears to have had no effect upon his determination. It was decided legally, however, that the king could neither fine nor imprison him for this refusal, since no man could be condemned to go into exile. High prices were now offered to induce men to bear this intolerable punishment. Sir William de Windsor asked something over 11,000*l.* per annum for his services, which Sir John Davis states exceeded the whole revenue of Ireland. The salary of a lord justice before this period was 500*l.* per annum, and he was obliged to support a small standing army. The truth was, that the government of Ireland had become every day

more difficult and less lucrative. The natives were already despoiled of nearly all their possessions, and the settlement of the feuds of the Anglo-Norman nobles was neither a pleasant nor a profitable employment. In addition to this, Edward was levying immense subsidies in Ireland, to support his wars in France and Scotland. At last the clergy were obliged to interfere. The archbishop of Cashel opposed these unreasonable demands, and solemnly excommunicated the king's collector, and all persons employed in raising the obnoxious taxes.

Richard II. succeeded his grandfather, A.D. 1377. As he was only in his eleventh year, the government was carried on by his uncles. The earl of March was sent to Ireland as justiciary, with extraordinary powers. He had married Philippa, daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence, by his first wife, and in her right became earl of Ulster. One of the Irish princes who came to his court was treacherously arrested and thrown into prison. The injustice was resented, or, perhaps we should rather say, feared, by the English nobles, as well as the Irish chieftains, who took care to keep out of the way of such adventures, by absenting themselves from the viceregal hospitalities. Roger Mortimer succeeded his father, and was followed by Philip de Courtenay, the king's cousin. He was granted the office for ten years, but, in the interval, was taken into custody by the Council of Regency, for his peculations.

There was war in Connaught between the O'Connors, in 1384, and fierce hostility continued for years after between the families of the O'Connor Don (Brown) and the O'Connor Roe (Red). Richard II. had his favourites, as usual; and in a moment of wild folly he bestowed the sovereignty of Ireland on the earl of Oxford, whom he also created marquis of Dublin. His royal master accompanied him as far as Wales, and then, determining to keep the earl near his person, despatched Sir John Sydney to the troublesome colony.

SECTION II. *Richard II. visits Ireland.*

On the 2nd October, A.D. 1394, Richard II. landed on the Irish shores. The country was in its normal state of par-

tial insurrection and general discontent; but no attempt was made to remove the chronic cause of all this unnecessary misery. There was some show of submission from the Irish chieftains, who were overawed by the immense force which attended the king. Art MacMurrough, the heir of the ancient Leinster kings, was the most formidable of the native nobles; and from his prowess and success in several engagements, was somewhat feared by the invaders. He refused to defer to anyone but Richard, and was only prevailed on to make terms when he found himself suddenly immured in Dublin castle, during a friendly visit to the court.

The king's account of his reception shows that he had formed a tolerably just opinion of the political state of the country. He mentions, in a letter from Dublin, that the people might be divided into three classes—the 'wild Irish, or enemies,' the Irish rebels, and the English subjects; and he had just enough discernment to see that the 'rebels had been made such by wrongs, and by want of close attention to their grievances,' though he had not the judgment or the justice to apply the necessary remedy. His next attempt was to persuade the principal Irish kings to receive knight-hood in the English fashion. They submitted with the worst possible grace, having again and again repeated that they had already received the honour according to the custom of their own country.

The customs of the Irish nobles were again made a subject of ridicule, as they had been during the visit of prince John, though we might have supposed that an increased knowledge of the world would have led to a wiser policy, if not to an avoidance of that ignorant criticism, which at once denounces everything foreign as inferior. Richard returned to England in 1395, after nine months of vain display. He appointed Roger Mortimer his viceroy. Scarcely had the king and his fleet sailed from the Irish shores, when the real nature of the proffered allegiance of seventy-two kings and chieftains became apparent. The O'Byrnes rose up in Wicklow, and were defeated by the viceroy and the earl of Ormonde; the MacCarthys rose up in Munster, and balanced affairs by gaining a victory over

the English. The earl of Kildare was captured by Calvagh O'Connor, of Offaly, in 1398; and, in the same year, the O'Briens and O'Tooles avenged their late defeat, by a great victory, at Kenlis, in Ossory.

In 1399 king Richard paid another visit to Ireland. His exactions and oppressions had made him very unpopular in England, and it is probable that this expedition was planned to divert the minds of his subjects. If this was his object, it failed signally; for the unfortunate monarch was deposed by Parliament the same year, and was obliged to perform the act of abdication with the best grace he could. His unhappy end belongs to English history. Richard again landed in state at Waterford, and soon after marched against the indomitable MacMurrough, who had contrived to keep the English settlers in continual alarm. The Irish chief, however, was not easily subdued, and as Richard's army was on the verge of starvation, he was obliged to break up his camp and march to Dublin. Upon his arrival there, MacMurrough made overtures for peace, which were gladly accepted, and the earl of Gloucester proceeded at once to arrange terms with him. But no reconciliation could be effected, as both parties refused to yield. When Richard heard the result, 'he flew into a violent passion, and swore by St. Edward he would not leave Ireland until he had MacMurrough in his hands, dead or alive.' How little he imagined, when uttering the mighty boast, that his own fate was even then sealed! War had already begun between York and Lancaster, and for years England was a prey to home dissensions which left those thus occupied but little time for foreign affairs. On the accession of Henry IV., his second son, Thomas, duke of Lancaster, was made viceroy, and landed at Bullock, near Dalkey, on Sunday, November 13, 1402. As the youth was but twelve years of age, a Council was appointed to assist him. Soon after his arrival, the said Council despatched a piteous document from 'Le Naas,' in which they represent themselves and their youthful ruler as on the very verge of starvation, in consequence of not having received remittances from England. In conclusion, they gently allude to the possibility—of course carefully depre-

cated—of ‘peril and disaster’ befalling their lord if further delay should be permitted. The king, however, was not in a position to tax his English subjects; and we find the prince himself writing to his royal father on the same matter, at the close of the year 1402. He mentions also that he had entertained the knights and squires with such cheer as could be procured under the circumstances, and adds: ‘I, by the advice of my Council, rode against the Irish, your enemies, and did my utmost to harass them.’

John Duke, the then mayor of Dublin, obtained the privilege of having the sword borne before the chief magistrate of that city, as a reward for his services in routing the O’Byrnes of Wicklow. About the same time John Dowdall, sheriff of Louth, was murdered in Dublin, by Sir Bartholomew Vernon and three other English gentlemen, who were outlawed for this and other crimes, but soon after received the royal pardon. In 1404 the English were defeated in Leix. In 1405 Art MacMurrough committed depredations at Wexford and elsewhere, and in 1406 the settlers suffered a severe reverse in Meath.

Sir Stephen Scroope had been appointed deputy for the royal viceroy, and he led an army against MacMurrough, who was defeated after a gallant resistance. In 1412 the O’Neills desolated Ulster with their feuds, and about the same time the English merchants of Dublin and Drogheda armed to defend themselves against the Scotch merchants, who had committed several acts of piracy. Henry V. succeeded his father in 1413, and appointed Sir John Stanley lord deputy. He signalised himself by his exactions and cruelties, and, according to the Irish account, was ‘rhymed to death’ by the poet Niall O’Higgin, of Usnagh, whom he had plundered in a foray. Sir John Talbot was the next governor. He began his career with a series of exploits against ‘the enemy,’ which won golden opinions from the inhabitants of ‘the Pale.’ Probably the news of his success induced his royal master to recall him to England, that he might have his assistance in his French wars.

His departure was a general signal for ‘the enemy’ to enact reprisals. O’Connor despoiled the Pale, and the

invincible Art MacMurrough performed his last military exploit at Wexford (A.D. 1416), where he took three hundred and forty prisoners in one day. 'He died the following year, and Ireland lost one of the bravest and best of her sons. The Annals describe him as 'a man who had defended his own province against the English and Irish from his sixteenth to his sixtieth year; a man full of hospitality, knowledge, and chivalry.' It is said that he was poisoned by a woman at New Ross, but no motive is mentioned for the crime. His son, Donough, who has an equal reputation for valour, was made prisoner two years after by the lord deputy, and imprisoned in the Tower of London. O'Connor of Offaly, another chieftain who had also distinguished himself against the English, died about this time. He had entered the Franciscan monastery of Killeigh a month before his death.

The Irish of English descent were made to feel their position painfully at the close of this reign, and this might have led the new settlers to reflect, if capable of reflection, that their descendants would soon find themselves in a similar condition. The commons presented a petition, complaining of the extortions and injustices practised by the deputies, some of whom had left enormous debts unpaid. They also represented the injustice of excluding Irish law students from the Inns of Court in London. A few years previous (A.D. 1417), the settlers had presented a petition to Parliament, praying that no Irishman should be admitted to any office or benefice in the Church, and that no bishop should be permitted to bring an Irish servant with him when he came to attend Parliament or Council. This petition was granted; and soon after an attempt was made to prosecute the archbishop of Cashel, who had presumed to disregard some of its enactments.

Henry VI. succeeded to the English throne while still a mere infant, and, as usual, the 'Irish question' was found to be one of the greatest difficulties of the new administration. The O'Neills had been carrying on a domestic feud in Ulster; but they had just united to attack the English, when Edward Mortimer, earl of March, assumed the government of Ireland (A.D. 1425). He died of the plague

the following year ; but his successor in office, lord Furnival, contrived to capture a number of the northern chieftains, who were negotiating peace with Mortimer at the very time of his death. Owen O'Neill was ransomed, but the indignation excited by this act served only to arouse angry feelings ; and the northerns united against their enemies, and soon recovered any territory they had lost.

Donough MacMurrough was released from the Tower in 1428, after nine years' captivity. It is said the Leinster men paid a heavy ransom for him. The young prince's compulsory residence in England did not lessen his disaffection, for he made war on the settlers as soon as he returned to his paternal dominions. The great family feud between the Houses of York and Lancaster had but little effect on the state of Ireland. Different members of the two great factions had held the office of lord justice in that country, but, with one exception, they did not obtain any personal influence there. Indeed, the viceroy of those days, whether an honest man or a knave, was sure to be unpopular with some party.

The Yorkists and Lancastrians were descended directly from Edward III. The first duke of York was Edward's fifth son, Edmund Plantagenet ; the first duke of Lancaster was John of Gaunt, the fourth son of the same monarch. Richard II. succeeded his grandfather, Edward III., as the son of Edward the Black Prince, so famed in English chivalry. His arrogance and extravagance soon made him unpopular ; and, during his absence in Ireland, the duke of Lancaster, whom he had banished, and treated most unjustly, returned to England, and fomented the fatal quarrel. The king was obliged to return immediately, and committed the government of the country to his cousin, Roger de Mortimer, who was next in succession to the English crown, in right of his mother, Philippa, the only child of the duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III. The death of this nobleman opened the way for the intrusion of the Lancastrians, the duke of Lancaster having obtained the crown during the lifetime of Richard, to the exclusion of the rightful heir-apparent, Edmund, earl of March, son to the late viceroy.

The feuds of the earl of Ormonde and the Talbots in Ireland proved nearly as great a calamity to that nation as the disputes about the English succession. A Parliament was held in Dublin in 1441, in which Richard Talbot, the English archbishop of Dublin, proceeded to lay various requests before the king, the great object of which was the overthrow of the earl, who, by the intermarrying of his kinsmen with the Irish, possessed great influence among the native septs contiguous to his own territory. The petitioners pray that the government may be committed to some 'mighty English lord;' and they moderately request that the said 'mighty lord' may be permitted to create temporal peers. They hint at the earl's age as an objection to his administration of justice, and assert that 'the lieutenant should be a mighty, courageous, and laborious man, to keep the field and make resistance against the enemy.' But the great crime alleged against him is that 'he hath ordained and made Irishmen, and grooms and pages of his household, knights of the shire.' These representations, however, had but little weight in the quarter to which they were addressed, for Ormonde was a stout Lancastrian; and if he had sinned more than his predecessors, his guilt was covered by the ample cloak of royal partiality. However, some appearance of justice was observed. Sir Giles Thornton was sent over to Ireland to make a report, which was so very general that it charged no one in particular, but simply intimated that there was no justice to be had for any party, and that discord and division prevailed amongst all the king's officers. The system of appointing deputies for different offices was very properly condemned, and the rather startling announcement made, that the annual expenses of the viceroy and his officers exceeded all the revenues of Ireland for that year by 4,456*l*. In fact, it could not be otherwise; for every official, lay and ecclesiastical, English and Anglo-Irish, appear to have combined in one vast system of speculation, and, when it was possible, of wholesale robbery. Even the loyal burghers of Limerick, Cork, and Galway had refused to pay their debts to the crown, and the representatives of royalty were not in a position to enforce payment. The

Talbot party seems to have shared the blame quite equally with the Ormondes, and the churchmen in power were just as rapacious as the seculars. After having ruined the 'mere Irish,' the plunderers themselves were on the verge of ruin; and the Privy Council declared that unless an immediate remedy was applied, the law courts should be closed, and the royal castles abandoned. Further complaints were made in 1444; and Robert Maxwell, a groom of the royal chamber, was despatched to Ireland with a summons to Ormonde, commanding him to appear before the king and council.

The earl at once collected his followers and adherents in Drogheda, where they declared, in the presence of the king's messenger, as in duty bound, that their lord had never been guilty of the treasons and extortions with which he was charged, and that they were all thankful for 'his good and gracious government:' furthermore, they hint that he had expended his means in defending the king's possessions. However, the earl was obliged to clear himself personally of these charges in London, where he was acquitted with honour by his royal master.

His enemy, Sir John Talbot, known better in English history as the earl of Shrewsbury, succeeded him, in 1446. This nobleman had been justly famous for his valour in the wars with France, and it is said that even mothers frightened their children with his name. His success in Ireland was not at all commensurate with his fame in foreign warfare, for he only succeeded so far with the native princes as to compel O'Connor Faly to make peace with the English government, to ransom his sons, and to supply some beeves for the king's kitchen. Talbot held a Parliament at Trim, in which, for the first time, an enactment was made about personal appearance, which widened the fatal breach still more between England and Ireland. This law declared that every man who did not shave his upper lip should be treated as an 'Irish enemy;' and the said shaving was to be performed once, at least, in every two weeks.

In the year 1447 Ireland was desolated by a fearful plague, in which seven hundred priests are said to have fallen victims, probably from their devoted attendance on

the sufferers. In the same year Felim O'Reilly was taken prisoner treacherously by the lord deputy ; and Finola, the daughter of Calvagh O'Connor Faly, and wife of Hugh Boy O'Neill, 'the most beautiful and stately, the most renowned and illustrious woman of all her time in Ireland, her own mother only excepted, retired from this transitory world, to prepare for eternal life, and assumed the yoke of piety and devotion in the monastery of Cill-Achaidh.'

This lady's mother, Margaret O'Connor, was the daughter of O'Carroll, king of Ely, and well deserved the commendation bestowed on her. She was the great patroness of the *literati* of Ireland, whom she entertained at two memorable feasts. The first festival was held at Killeigh, in the King's County, on the feast-day of *Da Sinchell* (St. Seanchan, March 26). All the chiefs, brehons, and bards of Ireland and Scotland were invited, and two thousand seven hundred guests are said to have answered the summons. The lady Margaret received them clothed in cloth of gold, and seated in queenly state. She opened the 'congress' by presenting two massive chalices of gold on the high altar of the church—an act of duty towards God ; and then took two orphan children to rear and nurse—an act of charity to her neighbour. Her noble husband, who had already distinguished himself in the field on many occasions, remained on his charger outside the church, to welcome his visitors as they arrived. The second entertainment was given on the Feast of the Assumption in the same year, and was intended to include all who had not been able to accept the first invitation. The chronicler concludes his account with a blessing on lady Margaret, and a curse on the disease which deprived the world of so noble an example : 'God's blessing, the blessing of all the saints, and every blessing be upon her going to heaven ; and blessed be he that will hear and read this, for blessing her soul.' It is recorded of her also, that she was indefatigable in building churches, erecting bridges, preparing highways, and providing mass-books. It is a bright picture on a dark page ; and though there may not have been many ladies so liberal or so devoted to learning at that period in Ireland, still the general state of female education could not have been

neglected, or such an example could not have been found or appreciated. Felim O'Connor, her son, died in the same year as his mother; he is described as 'a man of great fame and renown.' He had been ill of decline for a long time, and only one night intervened between the death of the mother and the son, A.D. 1451. Calvagh died in 1458, and was succeeded by his son, Con, who was not unworthy of his noble ancestry.

In 1449 the duke of York was sent to undertake the viceregal office in Ireland. His appointment is attributed to the all-powerful influence of queen Margaret, and its object was to deprive the English Yorkists of his powerful support and influence. In Ireland he soon became popular, and appears to have been one of the few viceroys who attempted anything like a conciliatory policy in that country.

The cities of Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal, now sent in petitions to him, complaining bitterly of the way in which the English noblemen 'fall at variance among themselves,' so that the whole country was desolated. The settlers of Waterford and Wexford made similar complaints against an Irish chieftain, O'Driscoll, whom they describe as 'an Irish enemy to the king and to all his liege people of Ireland.' The duke pacified all parties, and succeeded in attaching the majority of the nation more and more to his person and his interests. His English friends, who looked on his residence in Ireland as equivalent to banishment and imprisonment, were actively employed in promoting his return. The disgraceful loss of the English possessions in France, and probably still more the haughty and unconciliatory policy adopted by the queen, had strengthened the Yorkist party, and emboldened them to action. The duke was requested to return to England, where the insurgents in Kent had already risen under the leadership of the famous Jack Cade, whose origin is involved in hopeless obscurity, and whose character has been so blackened by writers on the Lancastrian side that it is equally incomprehensible. He called himself John Mortimer, and asserted that he was cousin to the viceroy. A proclamation, offering one thousand marks for his person, 'quick or dead,'

described him as born in Ireland. In consequence of the nonpayment of the annuity which had been promised to the duke during his viceroyalty, he had been obliged to demand assistance from the Irish, who naturally resisted so unjust a tax. After useless appeals to the king and parliament, he returned to England suddenly, in September 1450, leaving Sir James Butler, the eldest son of the earl of Ormonde, as his deputy.

The history of the Wars of the Roses does not belong to our province; it must, therefore, suffice to say, that when his party was defeated in England for a time, he fled to Ireland, where he was enthusiastically received, and exercised the office of viceroy at the very time that an act of attainder was passed against him and his family. He soon returned again to his own country; and there, after more than one brilliant victory, he was slain at the battle of Wakefield, on the 31st December 1460. Three thousand of his followers are said to have perished with him, and among the number were several Irish chieftains from Meath and Ulster. The Geraldines sided with the house of York, and the Butlers with the Lancastrians: hence members of both families fell on this fatal field on opposite sides.

SECTION III. *The Earl of Kildare and the Earl of Desmond.*

The earl of Kildare was lord justice on the accession of Edward IV., who at once appointed his unfortunate brother, the duke of Clarence, to that dignity. The earls of Ormonde and Desmond were at war (A.D. 1462), and a pitched battle was fought at Pilltown, in the county Kilkenny, where the former was defeated with considerable loss. His kinsman, MacRichard Butler, was taken prisoner; and we may judge of the value of a book, and the respect for literature in Ireland at that period, from the curious fact that a manuscript was offered and accepted for his ransom.

The eighth earl of Desmond, Thomas, was made viceroy in 1462. He was a special favourite with the king. In 1466 he led an army of the English of Meath and Leinster against O'Connor Faly, but he was defeated and taken prisoner in the engagement. Teigue O'Connor, the earl's

brother-in-law, conducted the captives to Carbury castle, in Kildare, where they were soon liberated by the people of Dublin. The Irish were very successful in their forays at this period. The men of Offaly devastated the country from Tara to Naas; the men of Breffni and Oriel performed similar exploits in Meath. Teigue O'Brien plundered Desmond, and obliged the Burkes of Clanwilliam to acknowledge his authority, and only spared the city of Limerick for a consideration of sixty marks.

The earl of Desmond appears to have exerted himself in every way for the national benefit. He founded a college in Youghal, with a warden, eight fellows, and eight choristers. He obtained an act for the establishment of a university at Drogheda, which was to have similar privileges to that of Oxford. He is described by native annalists—almost as loud in their praises of learning as of valour—as well versed in literature, and a warm patron of antiquaries and poets. But his liberality proved his ruin. He was accused of making alliances and fosterage with the king's Irish enemies; and perhaps he had also incurred the enmity of the queen (Elizabeth Woodville), for it was hinted that she had some share in his condemnation. It is at least certain that he was beheaded at Drogheda, on the 15th of February 1467, by the command of Typtoft, earl of Worcester, who was sent to Ireland to take his place as viceroy, and to execute the unjust sentence. The earl of Kildare was condemned at the same time, but he escaped to England, and pleaded his cause so well with the king and Parliament, that he obtained his own pardon, and a reversal of the attainder against the unfortunate earl of Desmond.

The English power in Ireland was reduced at this time to the lowest degree of weakness. This power had never been other than nominal beyond the Pale; within its precincts it was on the whole all-powerful. But now a few archers and spearmen were its only defence; and had the Irish combined under a competent leader, there can be little doubt that the result would have been fatal to the colony. It would appear as if Henry VII. hoped to propitiate the Yorkists in Ireland, as he allowed the earl of

Kildare to hold the office of lord deputy; his brother, Thomas FitzGerald, that of chancellor; and his father-in-law, FitzEustace, that of lord treasurer. After a short time, however, he restored the earl of Ormonde to the family honours and estates, and thus a Lancastrian influence was secured. The most important events of this reign, as far as Ireland is concerned, are the plots of Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, and the enactments of Poyning's Parliament. A contemporary Irish chronicler says: 'The son of a Welshman, by whom the battle of Bosworth field was fought, was made king; and there lived not of the royal blood, at that time, but one youth, who came the next year (1486) in exile to Ireland.'

The native Irish appear not to have had the least doubt that Simnel was what he represented himself to be. The Anglo-Irish nobles were nearly all devoted to the House of York; but it is impossible now to determine whether they were really deceived, or if they only made the youth a pretext for rebellion. His appearance is admitted by all parties to have been in his favour; but the king asserted that the real earl of Warwick was then confined in the Tower, and paraded him through London as soon as the pseudo-noble was crowned in Ireland.

In 1488 Sir Richard Edgecumbe was sent to Ireland to exact new oaths of allegiance from the Anglo-Norman lords, whose fidelity Henry appears to have doubted, and not without reason. The commissioner took up his lodgings with the Dominican friars, who appear to have been more devoted to the English interests than their Franciscan brethren; but they did not entertain the knight at their own expense, for he complains grievously of his 'great costs and charges.' A papal bull had been procured, condemning all who had rebelled against the king. This was published by the bishop of Meath, with a promise of absolution and royal pardon for all who should repent. Edgecumbe appears to have been at his wit's end to conciliate the 'rebels,' and informs us that he spent the night in 'devising as sure an oath as he could.' The nobles at last came to terms, and took the proffered pledge in the most solemn manner. This accomplished, the knight re-

turned to England; and on his safe arrival, after a stormy passage, made a pilgrimage to Saint Saviour's, in Cornwall.

It is quite impossible now to judge whether these solemn oaths were made to be broken, or whether the temptation to break them proved stronger than the resolution to keep them. It is at least certain that they were broken, and that in a year or two after the earl of Kildare had received his pardon under the great seal. In May 1492, the Warbeck plot was promulgated in Ireland, and an adventurer landed on the Irish shores, who declared himself to be Richard, duke of York, the second son of Edward IV., who was supposed to have perished in the Tower. His stay in Ireland, however, was brief, although he was favourably received. The French monarch entertained him with the honours due to a crowned head; but this, probably, was purely for political purposes, as he was discarded as soon as peace had been made with England. He next visited Margaret, the dowager duchess of Burgundy, who treated him as if he were really her nephew.

SECTION IV.

Enactment of Poyning's Law.—Origin of the word 'Pale.'

Henry now became seriously alarmed at the state of affairs in Ireland, and sent over Sir Edward Poyning, a privy councillor and a knight of the garter, to the troublesome colony. He was attended by some eminent English lawyers, and what was of considerably greater importance, by a force of a thousand men.

The first step was to hunt out the abettors of Warbeck's insurrection, who had taken refuge in the north; but the moment the deputy marched against them, the earl of Kildare's brother rose in open rebellion, and seized Carlow castle. The viceroy was, therefore, obliged to make peace with O'Hanlon and Magennis, and to return south. After recovering the fortress, he held a Parliament at Drogheda, in the month of November 1494. In this Parliament the celebrated statute was enacted, which provided that henceforth no Parliament should be held in Ireland until the chief governor and council had first certified to the king,

under the great seal, as well the causes and considerations as the Acts they designed to pass, and till the same should be approved by the king and council. This Act obtained the name of 'Poyning's Law.' It became a serious grievance when the whole of Ireland was brought under English government; but at the time of its enactment it could only affect the inhabitants of the Pale,* who formed a very small portion of the population of that country; and the colonists regarded it rather favourably, as a means of protecting them against the legislative oppressions of the viceroys.

The general object of the Act was nominally to reduce the people to 'whole and perfect obedience.' The attempt to accomplish this desirable end had been continued for rather more than two hundred years, and had not yet been attained. The Parliament of Drogheda did not succeed, although the viceroy returned to England afterwards under the happy conviction that he had perfectly accomplished his mission. Acts were also passed that ordnance should not be kept in fortresses without the viceregal licence; that the lords spiritual and temporal were to appear in their robes in parliament, for the English lords of Ireland had, 'through penuriousness, done away the said robes to their own great dishonour, and the rebuke of all the whole land;' that the 'many damnable customs and uses,' practised by the Anglo-Norman lords and gentlemen, under the names of 'coigne, livery, and pay,' should be reformed; that the inhabitants on the frontiers of the four shires should forthwith build and maintain a double ditch, raised six feet above the ground on the side which 'meared next unto the Irishmen,' so that the said Irishmen should be kept out; that all subjects were to provide themselves with cuirasses and helmets, with English bows and sheaves of arrows; that every parish should be provided with a pair of butts, and the constables were ordered to call the parishioners before them on holidays, to shoot at least two or three games.

* The word 'Pale' came to be applied to that part of Ireland occupied by the English, in consequence of one of the enactments of Poyning's Parliament, which required all the colonists to 'pale' in or enclose that portion of the country possessed by the English.

The Irish war cries, which had been adopted by the English lords, were forbidden, and they were commanded to call upon St. George or the king of England. The statutes of Kilkenny were confirmed, with the exception of the one which forbade the use of the Irish language. As nearly all the English settlers had adopted it, such an enactment could not possibly have been carried out. Three of the principal nobles of the country were absent from this assembly: Maurice, earl of Desmond, was in arms on behalf of Warbeck; Gerald, earl of Kildare, was charged with treason; and Thomas, earl of Ormonde, was residing in England. The earl of Kildare was sent to England to answer the charges of treason which were brought against him. Henry had discovered that Poyning's mission had not been as successful as he expected, and what probably influenced him still more, that it had proved very expensive. He has the credit of being a wise king in many respects, notwithstanding his avariciousness; and he at once saw that Kildare would be more useful as a friend, and less expensive, if he ceased to be an enemy. The result was the pardon of the 'rebel,' his marriage with the king's first cousin, Elizabeth St. John, and his restoration to the office of deputy. His quick-witted speeches, when examined before the king, took the royal fancy. He was accused of having burned the cathedral of Cashel, to revenge himself on the archbishop, who had sided with his enemy, Sir James Ormonde. There was a great array of witnesses prepared to prove the fact; but the earl excited shouts of laughter by exclaiming, 'I would never have done it had it not been told me the archbishop was within.'

The archbishop was present, and one of his most active accusers. The king then gave him leave to choose his counsel, and time to prepare his defence. Kildare exclaimed that he doubted if he should be allowed to choose the good fellow whom he should select. Henry gave him his hand as an assurance of his good faith. 'Marry,' said the earl, 'I can see no better man in England than your highness, and will choose no other.' The affair ended by his accusers declaring that 'all Ireland could not rule this earl;' to which Henry replied: 'Then, in good faith, shall this earl rule all Ireland.'

In August 1489, Kildare was appointed deputy to prince Henry, who was made viceroy. In 1498 he was authorised to convene a Parliament, which should not sit longer than half a year. This was the first Parliament held under Poyning's Act. Sundry regulations were made 'for the increasing of English manners and conditions within the land, and for diminishing of Irish usage.' In 1503 the earl's son Gerald was appointed treasurer for Ireland by the king, who expressed the highest approval of his father's administration. He married the daughter of lord Zouch of Codnor during this visit to England, and then returned with his father to Ireland. Both father and son were treated with the utmost consideration at court, and the latter took an important part in the funeral ceremonies for the king's eldest son, Arthur. The earl continued in office during the reign of Henry VII. An interesting letter, which he wrote in reply to an epistle from the Gherardini of Tuscany, is still extant. In this document he requests them to communicate anything they can of the origin of their house, their numbers, and their ancestors. He informs them that it will give him the greatest pleasure to send them hawks, falcons, horses, or hounds, or anything that he can procure which they may desire. He concludes:

'God be with you; love us in return.

'GERALD, chief in Ireland of the family of Gherardini, earl of Kildare, viceroy of the most serene kings of England in Ireland.'

CHAPTER XVI.

THE RELIGION, LAWS, ARCHITECTURE, DRESS, AND
SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE NORMAN PERIOD.SECTION I. *Ecclesiastical Affairs.*

THE Normans appear to have divided their attention to ecclesiastical affairs with tolerable impartiality, between the occupation of destroying Irish monasteries, and erecting new establishments of the same kind. The Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Cistercians, were all introduced into Ireland about the same time, and some of the most beautiful ecclesiastical ruins in that country date from this period.

The abbey of Mellifont was founded A.D. 1142, for Cistercian monks, by Donough O'Carroll, king of Oriel. It was the most ancient monastery of the order in Ireland, and was supplied with monks by St. Bernard, direct from Clairvaux, then in all its first fervour. The date of the erection of St. Mary's abbey in Dublin has not been correctly ascertained, but it is quite certain that the Cistercians were established here in 1139, although it was probably built originally by the Danes. The abbots of this monastery, and of the monastery at Mellifont, sat as barons in Parliament. There were also houses at Bectiff, county Meath; Baltinglass, county Wicklow; Moray, county Limerick; Orderney, county Kerry (quaintly and suggestively called *Kyrie Eleison*), at Newry, Fermoy, Boyle, Monasterevan, Ashro, and Jerpoint. The superiors of several of these houses sat in Parliament. Their remains attest their beauty and the cultivated tastes of their founders. The ruins of the abbey of Holy Cross, county

Tipperary, founded in 1182, by Donald O'Brien, are of unusual extent and magnificence. But the remains of Dunbrody, in the county of Wexford, are, perhaps, the largest and the most picturesque of any in the kingdom. It was also richly endowed, for these establishments were erected by the founders, not merely as an act of piety to God during their lifetime, but with the hope that prayers should be offered there for the repose of their souls after death. Tintern Abbey was founded in the year 1200, by the earl of Pembroke. When in danger at sea he made a vow that he would erect a monastery on whatever place he should first arrive in safety. He fulfilled his promise, and brought monks from Tintern, in Monmouthshire, who gave their new habitation the name of their old home. In 1224 the Cistercians resigned the monastery of St. Saviour, Dublin, which had been erected for them by the same earl, to the Dominicans, on condition that they should offer a lighted taper on the feast of the Nativity, at the abbey of St. Mary, as an acknowledgment of the grant. The mayor of Dublin, John Decer (A.D. 1380), repaired the church, and adorned it with a range of massive pillars. The friars of this house were as distinguished for literature as the rest of their brethren; and in 1421 they opened a school of philosophy and divinity on Usher's Island.

The Dominican convent of St. Mary Magdalene at Drogheda was founded in 1224, by John Netterville, archbishop of Armagh. Richard II. and Henry IV. were great benefactors to this house. Four general chapters were also held here. The Black Abbey of Kilkenny was erected by the younger William, earl of Pembroke. Four general chapters were also held here, and it was considered one of the first houses of the order in Ireland.

The Franciscan order, however, appears to have been the most popular, if we may judge by the number of its houses. Youghal was the first place where a convent of this order was erected. The founder, Maurice FitzGerald, was lord justice in the year 1229, and again in 1232. He was a patron of both orders, and died in the Franciscan habit, on the 20th May 1257. Indeed, some of the English and Irish chieftains were so devout to the two saints, that they appear to

have had some difficulty in choosing which they would have for their special patron. In 1649 the famous Owen O'Neill was buried in a convent of the order at Cavan. When dying he desired that he should be clothed in the Dominican habit, and buried in the Franciscan monastery.

Some curious particulars are related of the foundation at Youghal. The earl was building a mansion for his family in the town, about the year 1231. While the workmen were engaged in laying the foundation, they begged some money, on the eve of a great feast, that they might drink to the health of their noble employer. FitzGerald willingly complied with their request, and desired his eldest son to be the bearer of his bounty. The young nobleman, however, less generous than his father, not only refused to give them the money, but had angry words with the workmen. It is not mentioned whether the affair came to a more serious collision; but the earl, highly incensed with the conduct of his son, ordered the workmen to erect a monastery instead of a castle, and bestowed the house upon the Franciscan fathers. The following year he took their habit, and lived in the convent until his death. This house was completely destroyed during the persecutions in the reign of Elizabeth.

The convent of Kilkenny was founded immediately after. Its benefactor was the earl of Pembroke, who was buried in the church. Here was a remarkable spring, dedicated to St. Francis, at which many miraculous cures are said to have been wrought. The site occupied by this building was very extensive; its ruins only remain to tell how spacious and beautiful its abbey and church must have been. It was also remarkable for the learned men who there pursued their literary toil, among whom we may mention the celebrated annalist, Clynne. He was at first guardian of the convent of Carrick-on-Suir; but, about 1338, he retired to Kilkenny, where he compiled the greater part of his Annals. It is probable that he died about 1350. His history commences with the Christian era, and is carried down to the year 1349. At this time the country was all but depopulated by a fearful pestilence. The good and learned brother seems to have had some forebodings of

his impending fate, for his last written words run thus:— ‘And, lest the writing should perish with the writer, and the work should fail with the workman, I leave behind me parchment for continuing it; if any man should have the good fortune to survive this calamity, or any one of the race of Adam should escape this pestilence, and live to continue what I have begun.’ This abbey was also one of the great literary schools of Ireland, and had its halls of philosophy and divinity, which were well attended for many years.

In Dublin the Franciscans were established by the munificence of their great patron, Henry III. Ralph le Porter granted a site of land in that part of the city where the street still retains the name of the founder of the Seraphic order. In 1308 John le Decer proved a great benefactor to the friars, and erected a very beautiful chapel, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, in which he was interred.

But the convent of Multifarnham was the great glory of this century. It was erected, in 1236, by lord Delamere; and from its retired situation, and the powerful protection of its noble patrons, escaped many of the calamities which befell other houses of the order. The church and convent were built ‘in honour of God and St. Francis.’ The monastery itself was of unusual size, and had ample accommodation for a number of friars. Hence, in times of persecution, it was the usual refuge of the sick and infirm, who were driven from their less favoured homes. The church was remarkable for its beauty and the richness of its ornaments. Here were the tombs of its noble founders and patrons, and the south-eastern window was gorgeous with their heraldic devices. The convent was situated on Lake Derravaragh, and was endowed with many acres of rich land, through which flow the Inny and the Gaine. Such a position afforded opportunity for mills and agricultural labours, of which the friars were not slow to avail themselves.

Even a list of the number of religious houses founded at this period would occupy more space than could fairly be given to this subject. Details, however interesting, belong rather to an ecclesiastical history. It will, however, be necessary to remark, that in the reign of Henry VIII. all

this property, however vested, and whether consisting of lands, buildings, or church possessions, was transferred by the crown to the use of the Protestant church. The lands belonging to the monasteries, or episcopal sees, were called 'Herenagh lands,' or 'termon lands,' and were granted by the chieftains or Norman lords for the support of the monks and clergy belonging to those churches, and for the decent maintenance of the necessary ecclesiastical functions. In some places fisheries, or tolls, were granted for a similar purpose.

SECTION II.

English Law introduced into Ireland, but only for the Benefit of the English Colonists.

The English settlers in Ireland naturally introduced English law and customs, but they made the fatal mistake of not extending their benefits to the native Irish. Hence there were two different, and in some respects contradictory, codes enforced, and, necessarily, both confusion and injustice were the practical result. The first Convention in Ireland which at all resembled a Parliament, was held at Kilkenny, A.D. 1367; but it could not, strictly speaking, be called a Parliament, in the modern acceptation of the term. There is no list extant of the members who composed this assembly, but it is generally supposed to have only represented the English settlers; indeed, the enactments of the statute are a sufficient evidence of this. The object of the statute was to check the gradual amalgamation of the Celts and Normans, an amalgamation which had already commenced. The English settlers frequently intermarried with the Irish chieftains, in order to secure themselves from attack, or to ally themselves to those who would then assist in defending the property which they held by such a precarious tenure. Thus an adoption of Irish laws, manners, dress, and customs became imminent; and it appeared not unlikely that the descendants of the Norman nobles would eventually become masters of the country, and resist the English government as strongly and more effectually than the Irish themselves had ever done. This

became evident after the death of William Burke, who possessed immense property in Ulster and Connaught. He was killed by his own people, and left one daughter, who married Lionel, duke of Clarence; but the next male heirs of the deceased earl had seized his extensive territories in Connaught, and divided them amongst themselves according to Irish law, because Lionel was presumably interested in the enactment of a statute which should protect his claims.

The statute or statutes of Kilkenny consist of thirty-four distinct acts besides the conclusion. The preamble states the reason of their enactment, and runs thus: 'Whereas . . . many English of the said land [Ireland], forsaking the English language, manners, mode of living, laws and usages, live and govern themselves according to the manners, fashion, and language of the Irish enemies, and who have made divers marriages and alliances between themselves and the Irish enemies aforesaid,' &c.

Then follow the enactments. Some of these have been already briefly enumerated. The object was simply to restrain the English from any kind of connection with the Irish. The statutes were skilfully framed, and only needed one thing to ensure their success—that they should be efficiently carried out. The utter impossibility of so doing is obvious at a glance. No. 2 required that the English should neither intermarry with nor be fostered by the Irish. The result was frequent applications to legalise fostering, and eventually the statute was entirely disregarded. No. 3 required the exclusive use of the English language; but clearly Norman-French was thereby intended, for the statute is written in that language; and clearly the language of a whole nation could not be altered by a legal enactment. However, the statute was passed at Shrovetide, and the defaulters were given a 'respite to learn English and provide saddles until the feast of St. Michael next ensuing.'

It is evident from No. 4 that ill-feeling had already been created between the English born in Ireland and the English born in England, for they were forbidden to call each other 'English hobbe' or 'Irish dog.' No. 13 forbids

any Irish-born person to be received into any religious house, but persons of English descent born in Ireland were not exempted.

The animus of the whole statute will be sufficiently clear from these extracts. They failed, because it was impossible to enforce them; but the attempt to do so led to the most injurious effects. Although this statute was frequently abrogated for the benefit of individuals, and utterly disregarded by all who could possibly escape its enactments, it was confirmed by most of the numerous Parliaments held during the succeeding century. These Parliaments were held in 'the hows called Christes church, scituate in the highe plase of the same, like as Poules in London, where the comen congregations of Parliametes and greate Counsaillies hath bene used to be selebrated' (*State Papers*, p. 111, col. ii.). In the Parliament held in A.D. 1475 enactments were made that no knights, citizens, or burgesses should be returned for any place unless they resided there, and that they should have a freehold of forty shillings by the year. Knights of the shire were paid for their attendance. There was considerable difficulty in making the enactments of these Parliaments known before the invention of printing: copies were generally sent to the sheriffs, who were obliged to see that they were made known to the people.

SECTION III.

Ecclesiastical, Military, and Domestic Architecture.

There is sufficient evidence to prove that the Irish erected churches, or, as they are more generally denominated, oratories, of stone, at a very early period, but it has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained when they began to build them on a larger scale, and with lime cement. There is mention in the year 1145 of the erection of an immense limekiln by Gelasius, archbishop of Armagh, for repairing churches, which shows that this kind of cement was then in general use.

In the smaller churches of oblong form without chancels, the roofs were constructed of stone, and this continued,

with rare exceptions, until the introduction of the pointed or Gothic style. In the larger churches the roofs were generally of wood. Shrines of gold and silver, richly carved, were placed in all the principal churches, and at this period crowns were frequently suspended over the shrines of saints. It is probable that St. Patrick introduced this custom into the Irish church, as St. Paulinus describes a crown, which hung over the tomb of St. Martin of Tours, and the practice is also mentioned by Gregory of Tours.

The beautiful and well-known stone-roofed church on the Rock of Cashel, called Cormac's chapel, is considered one of the most curious and perfect churches of the Norman style in the British empire. In general plan it exhibits many points of resemblance to the early stone-roofed churches of the Irish. Externally the walls are ornamented with blank arcades of semicircular arches; internally there are similar arcades, which spring from square pilasters in the nave. These pilasters are ornamented with mouldings characteristic of the Norman style. The capitals of the great northern doorway give an interesting example of the intersecting semicircular arches which by forming acute arches were supposed by Irish architects to have suggested the pointed style.

Some very beautiful cornices are still in existence which evince the skill of the Irish artist in metal work. Windows of painted glass were in use before 1318, for we find that the cathedral church of Kilkenny, erected at that date, possessed an east window containing the history of Christ from His birth to His ascension, which was so highly esteemed that the pope's nuncio, Rinuccini, who visited Ireland in 1645, offered seven hundred pounds for it. His offer, unfortunately, was not accepted, and it was wantonly destroyed by Cromwell's soldiers. In the fifteenth century the arts of sculpture and metal work declined, and ceased to exhibit any traces of Celtic design.

MILITARY ARCHITECTURE.—The Anglo-Normans were obliged to erect castles for defence and protection of their property, as soon as they had obtained any settlements in Ireland, but the Irish nobles appear to have anticipated

their plan. The Annals record the erection of four castles in Galway between A.D. 1129 and 1134. Roderick O'Connor, the last native monarch of Ireland, erected the castle of Tuam, which was generally known as the Warderford castle, from its novel construction and great strength; it was, in fact, built on the plan of the castles of the continental feudal lords. It consisted of a strong keep with an extensive courtyard, surrounded by outworks. Towers stood at the angles, and it was protected by a deep fosse, into which the waters of a neighbouring river were forced to flow.

Domestic architecture probably remained much the same as that described at an earlier period. The castle was the home as well as the defence of the higher classes; the wooden hut, or the securer lake habitation, was the home of those who were obliged to depend on their own valour for protection.

SECTION IV. *Dress and Social Customs.*

There are, fortunately, several manuscripts extant from which correct descriptions of the dress and social customs of the Irish at this period (A.D. 1309) may be obtained. In one of these manuscripts we find an account of the dress which a chieftain wore when going into battle. His cassock was of red cloth, his tunic was a gold-bordered garment (the material is not mentioned) that reached from his neck to his knees. Over this he wore a parti-coloured coat of mail, 'ornamented with curious devices of exquisite workmanship.' His belt of war was saffron-coloured, and ornamented with jewels. He wore a lance 'cased in a tubic sheath,' a dagger fixed in his belt, a polished spherical helmet, a sharp-pointed sword, a dart in his right hand, and a spear in his left.

The Irish did not use mail armour before the twelfth century, and probably adopted it gradually from having seen its efficacy in their conflicts with the Danes. The chronic state of war in which the nation was kept from the time of the Danish invasion was a serious and effectual hindrance to social advancement. It would appear, that wood tablets were

used by schoolmasters for recording their lessons, and that the Irish character was used even when Latin was the medium of communication or the subject of study. A curious specimen of these tablets is preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. The cover and leaves are pine wood, coated to within a quarter of an inch of the edge with wax. The writing is referred by competent caligraphers to the fourteenth century, though it is admitted that such tablets were in use at a much earlier period.

The Danes, as we have already observed, were the founders of the Irish maritime towns and of Irish export trade. Frequent mention is made in the Sagas of their trading voyages. Before the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland a slave trade was carried on between that country and England. William of Malmesbury, in his *Life of Wulstan*, bishop of Worcester, who died A.D. 1095, informs us that Bristol was the great mart for this infamous traffic. It was discontinued for a time, in consequence of the energetic exertions of the holy bishop. The Irish bartered their cattle for English slaves, whom they employed in tending their herds. The value of each is expressed in the 'Doomsday Book,' where we find that the toll of the market at Lewes in Suffolk was fourpence for a slave—not a serf, *adscriptus glebæ*, but an unconditional bondsman—and one penny for a cow. The Irish clergy at the synod of Armagh, A.D. 1172, declared that the English invasion was a judgment on their nation for this slave trade, which they were commanded to discontinue. They were also required to release all the English boys whom they had purchased.

The principal home manufacture at the time of the Norman invasion was cloth made of black wool, which did not require to be dyed, and parti-coloured cloth used for trimmings. Javelins, lances, and battle-axes were also manufactured from iron. The Danes or Ostmen of Wexford imported wine and corn from Brittany, as numbers of these merchants fled from Dublin at the period of the English invasion. Henry II. peopled it as far as possible with traders from Bristol, to whom he granted a charter, and special privileges. They had considerable shipping at an early period, and we find in Rymer's *Fœdera* that in 1242

Henry III. ordered the mayor and burgesses of Dublin to assist him with transport vessels for his war with France.

In 1272 there was a considerable trade done in cloth, which was exported to England. Indeed, this cloth was famous on the Continent at an earlier period, for it is mentioned in the *Dicta Mundi* of Bonifazio's 'Uberti,' as used in Italy about A.D. 1364. In 1300 a considerable trade was carried on in hogs, but whether living or dead the barbarous Latin in which they are described as *baconeus* makes it impossible to determine.

There are many notices of Irish chiefs being employed in the French wars by the kings of England. In 1353 Edward III. passed the celebrated ordinance known as the *staple*. The staple goods were wools, wool-fells, hides, and lead, and the staples were certain towns in England, and Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda in Ireland. The exportation of staple goods was prohibited under penalty of death, but the Irish were allowed to take their staple goods for sale to any staple town in England.

The Normans, who were notoriously luxurious livers, no doubt introduced many requirements of gastronomy into Ireland. The use of cranes' flesh was learnt from them, and herons, peacocks, swans, and wild geese were also brought to table, and dressed in a way that was then considered the acme of cookery.

FIFTH PERIOD.

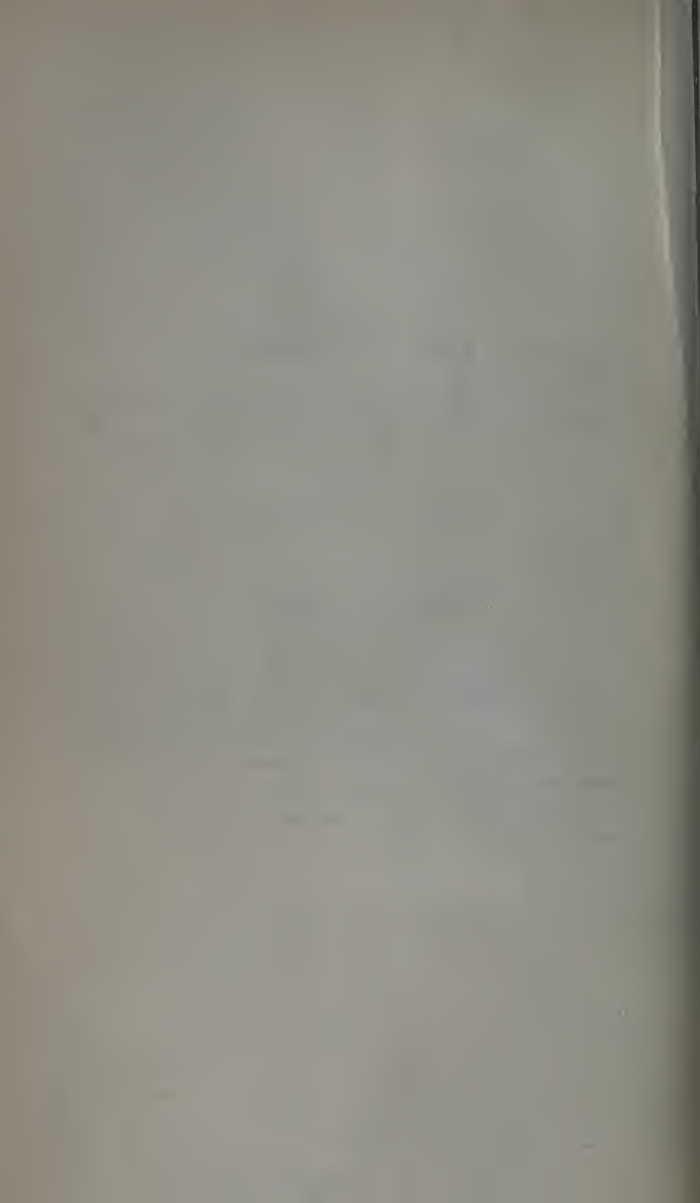
IRELAND UNDER THE TUDORS AND STUARTS, CONCLUDING
WITH THE UNION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND
IRELAND.

FROM A.D. 1513 TO A.D. 1800.



PRINCIPAL EVENTS.

FAILURE OF THE ATTEMPT TO INTRODUCE THE REFORMATION
INTO IRELAND—THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH—
RINUCCINI IS SENT BY THE POPE TO EFFECT A UNION
BETWEEN THE IRISH PRINCES—HE FAILS TO ACCOMPLISH
THIS, AND RETURNS TO ITALY—CROMWELL'S CAMPAIGN IN
IRELAND—BATTLE OF THE BOYNE—INSURRECTION OF
1798—THE ACT OF UNION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND
IRELAND PASSED A.D. 1800.



CHAPTER XVII.

A.D. 1513 to A.D. 1561.

FAILURE OF THE ATTEMPT TO INTRODUCE THE
REFORMATION INTO IRELAND.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS: Charles V. obtains the Spanish Crown—Landing of Cortez in Mexico—Luther Excommunicated by the Pope—Circumnavigation of the Globe by Magellan—Capture of Rhodes by the Turks—Francis I. taken Prisoner at Pavia—He signs a Treaty with the Emperor Charles V.—Vienna besieged by the Turks—Henry VIII. proclaimed Head of the Protestant Church in England—The Council of Trent assembled—Death of Henry VIII. of England and Francis I. of France—Abdication of Charles V.

SECTION I.

Gerald, Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy of Ireland

HENRY VIII. succeeded his father in the year 1509. The earl of Kildare was continued in his office as deputy; but the king's minister, Wolsey, virtually ruled the nation, until the youthful monarch had attained his majority; and he appears to have devoted himself with considerable zeal to Irish affairs. He attempted to attach some of the Irish chieftains to the English interest, and seems in some degree to have succeeded. Hugh O'Donnell, lord of Tir-Connell, was hospitably entertained at Windsor, as he passed through England on his pilgrimage to Rome. It is said that O'Donnell subsequently prevented James IV. of Scotland from undertaking his intended expedition to Ireland; and in 1521 we find him described by the then lord deputy as the best disposed of all the Irish chieftains 'to fall into English order.'

Gerald, the ninth and last Catholic earl of Kildare, suc-

ceeded his father as lord deputy in 1513. But the hereditary foes of his family were soon actively employed in working his ruin; and even his sister, who had married into that family, proved not the least formidable of his enemies. He was summoned to London; but either the charges against him could not be proved, or it was deemed expedient to defer them, for we find him attending Henry for four years, and forming one of his retinue at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Kildare was permitted to return to Dublin again in 1523, but he was tracked by Wolsey's implacable hatred to his doom. In 1533 he was confined in the Tower for the third time. The charges against him were warmly urged by his enemies. Two of his sisters were married to native chieftains; and he was accused with playing fast and loose with the English as a baron of the Pale—with the Irish as a warm ally. Two English nobles had been appointed to assist him, or rather to act the spy upon his movements, at different times. One of these, Sir Thomas Skeffington, became his most dangerous enemy.

In 1515 an elaborate report on the state of Ireland was prepared by the royal command. It gives a tolerably clear idea of the military and political condition of the country. According to this account, the only counties really subject to English rule, were Louth, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, and Wexford. Even the residents near the boundaries of these districts were obliged to pay 'black mail' to the neighbouring Irish chieftains. The king's writs were not executed beyond the bounds described; and within thirty miles of Dublin the Brehon law was in full force. This document, which is printed in the first volume of the 'State Papers' relating to Ireland, contains a list of the petty rulers of sixty different states or 'regions,' some of which 'are as big as a shire; some more, some less.' The writer then gives various opinions as to the plans which might be adopted for improving the state of Ireland, which he appears to have taken principally from a curious old book, called '*Salus Populi.*' Both writers were of opinion that war to the knife was the only remedy for Ireland's grievances. It was at least clear that if dead men could tell no tales, neither could dead men rebel against oppression; and the

writer of the report concludes, 'that if the king were as wise as Solomon the Sage, he shall never subdue the wild Irish to his obedience without dread of the sword.' Even this he admits may fail; for he adds, 'so long as they may resist and save their lives, they will never obey the king.' He then quotes the '*Salus Populi*,' to show the advantages which England might derive if the Irish united with her in her wars on foreign countries, and observes, 'that if this land were put once in order as aforesaid, it would be none other but a very paradise, delicious of all pleasaunce, in respect and regard of any other land in this world; inas-much as there never was stranger nor alien person, great or small, that would leave it willingly, notwithstanding the said disorder, if he had the means to dwell therein honestly.'

It cannot now be ascertained whether Kildare had incited the Irish chieftains to rebellion or not. In 1520, during one of his periods of detention in London, the earl of Surrey was sent over as deputy, with a large force. It would appear as if a general rising were contemplated at that time, and it was then the earl wrote the letter¹ already mentioned to O'Carroll. The new viceroy was entirely ignorant of the state of Ireland, and imagined he had nothing to do but conquer. Several successful engagements confirmed him in this pleasing delusion; but he soon discovered his mistake, and assured the king that it was hopeless to contend with an enemy who were defeated one day and rose up with renewed energy the next. As a last resource he suggested the policy of conciliation, which Henry appears to have adopted, as he empowered him to confer the honour of knighthood on any of the Irish chieftains to whom he considered it desirable to offer the compliment, and he sent a collar of gold to O'Neill. About the same time Surrey wrote to inform Wolsey that Cormac Oge

¹ The deposition accusing Kildare is printed in the *State Papers*, part iii. p. 45. The following is an extract from the translation which it gives of his letter to O'Carroll. The original was written in Irish: 'Desiring you to kepe good peas to English men tyll an English Deputie come there; and when any English Deputie shall come thydder, doo your beste to make warre upon English men there, except suche as bee towards mee, whom you know well your silf.'

MacCarthy and MacCarthy Reagh were 'two wise men, and more conformable to order than some English were;' but he was still careful to keep up the old policy of fomenting discord among the native princes, for he wrote to the king that 'it would be dangerous to have them both agreed and joined together, as the longer they continue in war, the better it should be for your grace's poor subjects here.'

Surrey became weary at last of the hopeless conflict, and at his own request he was permitted to return to England and resign his office, which was conferred on his friend, Pierse Butler, of Carrick, subsequently earl of Ormonde. The Scotch had begun to immigrate to Ulster in considerable numbers, and acquired large territories there; the Pale was almost unprotected; and the Irish Privy Council applied to Wolsey for six ships-of-war, to defend the northern coasts, A.D. 1522. The dissensions between the O'Neills and O'Donnells had broken out into sanguinary warfare.

The earl of Kildare left Ireland, for the third and last time, in February 1534. Before his departure he summoned a council at Drogheda, and appointed his son, Thomas, to act as deputy in his absence. On the earl's arrival in London he was at once seized and imprisoned in the Tower. A false report was carefully circulated in Ireland that he had been beheaded, and that the destruction of the whole family was even then impending.

The unfortunate earl had advised his son to pursue a cautious and gentle policy; but lord Thomas' fiery temper could ill brook such precaution, and he was but too easily roused by the artful enemies who incited him to rebellion. The reports of his father's execution were confirmed. His proud blood was up, and he rushed madly on the career of self-destruction. On the 11th of June 1534, he flung down the sword of state on the table of the council-hall at St. Mary's Abbey, and openly renounced his allegiance to the English monarch. Archbishop Cromer implored him with tears to reconsider his purpose, but all entreaties were vain. Even had he been touched by this disinterested counsel, it would probably have failed of its effect; for an Irish bard commenced chanting his praises and his father's

wrongs, and thus his doom was sealed. An attempt was made to arrest him, but it failed. Archbishop Allen, his father's bitterest enemy, fled to the Castle, with several other nobles, and here they were besieged by FitzGerald and his followers. The archbishop soon contrived to effect his escape. He embarked at night in a vessel which was then lying at Dame's Gate; but the ship was stranded near Clontarf, either through accident or design, and the unfortunate prelate was seized by lord Thomas' people, who instantly put him to death. The young nobleman is said by some authorities to have been present at the murder, as well as his two uncles: there is at least no doubt of his complicity in the crime. The sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him and those who assisted him, in its most terrible form.

Ecclesiastical intervention was not necessary to complete his ruin. He had commenced his wild career of lawless violence with but few followers, and without any influential companions. The castle of Maynooth, the great stronghold of the Geraldines, was besieged and captured by his father's old enemy, Sir William Skeffington. In the meanwhile the intelligence of his son's insurrection had been communicated to the earl, and the news of his excommunication followed quickly. The unfortunate nobleman succumbed beneath the twofold blow, and died in a few weeks. Lord Thomas surrendered himself in August 1535, on the guarantee of lord Leonard and lord Butler, under a solemn promise that his life should be spared.¹ But his fate was in the hands of one who had no pity, even where the tenderest ties were concerned. Soon after the surrender of 'Silken Thomas,' his five uncles were seized treacherously at a banquet; and, although three of them had no part in the rebellion, the nephew and the uncles were all executed together at Tyburn, on the 3rd of February 1537. If the king had

¹ It is quite evident from the letter of the Council to Henry VIII. (*State Papers*, ciii.), that a promise was made. Henry admits it, and regrets it in his letter to Skeffington (*S. P.* cvi.): 'The doying whereof [FitzGerald's capture], albeit we accept it thankfully, yet, if he had been apprehended after such sorte as was convenable to his deservynges, the same had been moch more thankfull and better to our contentacion.'

hoped by this cruel injustice to rid himself of the powerful family, he was mistaken. Two children of the late earl's still existed. They were sons by his second wife, lady Elizabeth Grey. The younger, still an infant, was conveyed to his mother in England. The elder, a youth of twelve years of age, was concealed by his aunts, who were married to the chieftains of Offaly and Donegal, and was soon conveyed to France, out of the reach of the enemies who eagerly sought his destruction.

SECTION II.

Failure of the Attempt made to introduce the Reformation into Ireland.

The first attempt made by Henry VIII. to introduce the Reformation was the appointment of Dr. Browne to the see of Dublin. He was an Augustinian friar, and had joined the reforming party in England. He was a man of considerable energy and determination, and the king naturally supposed that he would easily accomplish his wishes. Soon after his arrival in Ireland he received an official letter from Cromwell, containing directions for his conduct there. He is informed it is 'the royal will and pleasure of his majesty, that his subjects in Ireland, even as those in England, should obey his commands in spiritual matters as in temporal, and renounce their allegiance to the see of Rome.' But Dr. Browne soon found that it was incomparably easier for Henry to issue commands in England than for him to enforce them in Ireland. He therefore wrote to Cromwell, from Dublin, on 'the 4th of the Kal. of December 1535,' and informed him that he 'had endeavoured, almost to the danger and hazard of my temporal life, to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation to due obedience in owning of his highness their supreme head, as well spiritual as temporal; and do find much oppugning therein, especially by my brother Armagh, who hath been the main oppugner, and so hath withdrawn most of his suffragans and clergy within his see and diocese. He made a speech to them, laying a curse on the people whosoever should own his highness' supremacy, saying, that isle—as it is in their

Irish chronicles, *insula sacra*—belongs to none but the bishop of Rome, and that it was the bishop of Rome that gave it to the king's ancestors.' Dr. Browne then proceeds to inform his correspondent that the Irish clergy had sent two messengers to Rome. He states 'that the common people of this isle are more zealous in their blindness than the saints and martyrs were in truth;' and he advises that a Parliament should at once be summoned, 'to pass the supremacy by act; for they do not much matter his highness' commission, which your lordship sent us over.'

The Parliament was summoned in 1536; but, as a remote preparation, the lord deputy made a 'martial circuit' of Ireland, hoping thereby to overawe the native septs, and compel their submission to the royal will and pleasure. 'This preparation being made,' writes Sir John Davies, 'he first propounded and passed in Parliament these lawes, which made the great alteration in the state ecclesiastical, namely, the act which declared king Henry VIII. to be supreme head of the Church of Ireland; the act prohibiting apeales to the Church of Rome; the act for first fruites and twentieth part to be paid to the king; and lastly, the act that did utterly abolish the usurped authoritie of the pope. Next, for the increase of the king's revenew. By one act he suppressed sundry abbayes and religious houses, and by another act resumed the lands of the absentees.'

The Anglo-Norman nobles and gentlemen were easily persuaded to enact whatever laws the king wished, but the ecclesiastics were by no means so pliable. Every division had the privilege of sending two proctors to Parliament, and these proctors so vehemently opposed the royal supremacy in matters spiritual, that lords Grey and Brabazon were obliged to prorogue the Parliament, and write to Cromwell to state that they had been obliged to do so in consequence of the 'forwardness and obstinacy of the proctors, of the clergy, and of the bishops and abbots;' and they suggest that 'some means should be devised, whereby they should be brought to remember their duty better,' or that 'means may be found which shall put these proctors from a voice in Parliament.' The means were easily found—the proctors were forbidden to vote. The act was passed.

SECTION III.

Scheme to Extirpate the Irish; persecution of the Catholics.

As it was now evident that the Irish nation would not accept Henry's supremacy, an expedient was prepared for their utter extirpation. It would be impossible to believe that the human heart could be guilty of such cruelty, if we had not evidence of the fact in the 'State Papers.' By this diabolical scheme it was arranged to kill or carry away their cattle, and to destroy their corn while it was green. 'The very living of the Irishry,' observes the writer, 'doth clearly consist in two things; and take away the same from them, and they are past power to recover, or yet to annoy any subject in Ireland. Take first from them their corn—burn and destroy the same; and then have their cattle and beasts, which shall be most hardest to come by, and yet, with guides and policy, they be often had and taken.' Such was the arrangement; and it was from no want of inclination that it was not entirely carried out, and the 'Irishry' starved to death in their own land.

Dr. Browne still kept up an active correspondence with his royal master, in which we find evidence of his miserable servility and the spirit by which he was actuated in promoting the Reformation in Ireland. In a letter, dated 27th September 1537, he commences by informing his most excellent highness that he had received his most gracious letter on the 7th September, and that 'it made him tremble in body for fear of incurring his majesty's displeasure,' which was doubtless the most truthful statement in his epistle. He mentions all his zeal and efforts against popery, which, he adds, 'is a thing not little rooted among the inhabitants here.' He assures the king of his activity in securing the twentieth part and first-fruits for the royal use, and states what, indeed, could not be denied, that he was the 'first spiritual man who moved' for this to be done. He concludes with the fearful profanity of 'desiring of God, that the ground should open and swallow him up the hour or minute that he should declare the Gospel of Christ after

any sort than he had done heretofore, in rebuking the papistical power, or in *any other point concerning the advancement of his grace's affairs.*'

Such a tissue of profanity and absurdity was seldom penned, even in an age when the boldest and bravest trembled before the Tudor frown.

Dr. Browne and the lord deputy now rivalled each other in their efforts to obtain the royal approbation, by destroying all that the Irish people held most sacred, determined to have as little cause as possible for 'the trembling in body' which the king's displeasure would effect. They traversed the land from end to end, destroying cathedrals, plundering abbeys, and burning relics. However full of painful interest these details may be, as details they belong to the province of the ecclesiastical historian.

In January 1539, they set out on a 'visitation' of the four counties of Carlow, Wexford, Waterford, and Tipperary, in which the church militant was for the nonce represented by the church military. They transmitted an account of their expedition, and the novel fashion in which they attempted to propagate the gospel, to England, on the 18th January. One brief extract must suffice as a specimen of their proceedings. 'The day following we kept the sessions there [at Wexford]. There was put to execution four felons, accompanied with another, a friar, whom we commanded to be hanged in his habit, and so to remain upon the gallows for a mirror to all his brethren to live truly.'

The church-lands were now sold to the highest bidder, or bestowed as a reward on those who had helped to enrich the royal coffers by sacrilege. Amongst the records of the sums thus obtained, we find 326*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.*, the price of divers pieces of gold and silver, of precious stones, silver ornaments, &c.; also 20*l.*, the price of one thousand pounds of wax. The sum of 1,710*l.* 2*s.* was realised from the sale of sacred vessels belonging to thirty-nine monasteries. The profits on the spoliation of St. Mary's, Dublin, realised 385*l.* The destruction of the Collegiate Church of St. Patrick must have procured an enormous profit, as we find that

Cromwell received 60*l.* for his pains in effecting the same.¹ It should also be remembered that the value of a penny then was equal to the value of a shilling now, so that we should multiply these sums at least by ten to obtain an approximate idea of the extent of this wholesale robbery.

The spoilers now began to quarrel over the spoils. The most active or the most favoured received the largest share; and Dr. Browne grumbled loudly at not obtaining all he asked for. But we need not record the disedifying history of their quarrels. The next step was to accuse each other. In the report of the commissioners appointed in 1538 to examine into the state of the country, we find complaints made of the exaction of undue fees, extortions for baptisms and marriages, &c. They also (though this was not made an accusation by the commissioners) received the fruits of benefices in which they did not officiate, and they were accused of taking wives and dispensing with the sacrament of matrimony. The king, whatever personal views he might have on this subject, expected his clergy to live virtuously; and in 1542 he wrote to the lord deputy, requiring an act to be passed 'for the continency of the clergy,' and some 'reasonable plan to be devised for the avoiding of sin.' However, neither the act nor the 'reasonable plan' appears to have succeeded. In 1545 Dr. Browne writes: 'Here reigneth insatiable ambition; here reigneth continually coigne and livery, and callid extortion.' Five years later, Sir Anthony St. Leger, after piteous complaints of the decay of piety and the increase of immorality, epitomises the state of the country thus: 'I never saw the land so far out of good order.'

¹ 28th Henry VIII. cap. xvi. In Shirley's *Original Letters*, p. 31, we find the following order from the lord protector, Somerset, to the dean of St. Patrick's: 'Being advertised that one thousand ounces of plate of crosses and such like things remaineth in the hands of you, we require you to deliver the same to be employed to his majesty's use,' &c. He adds that the dean is to receive '20*l.* in ready money' for the safe keeping of the same.

SECTION IV. *The Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary.*

On the 28th of January 1547, Edward VI. was crowned king of England. The council of regency appointed by Henry was set aside, and Seymour, duke of Somerset, appointed himself protector. St. Leger was continued in the office of lord deputy in Ireland; but Sir Edward Bellingham was sent over as captain-general, with a considerable force, to quell the ever-recurring disturbances. His energetic character bore down all opposition, as much by the sheer strength of a strong will as by force of arms. In 1549 the earl of Desmond refused to attend a council in Dublin, on the plea that he wished to keep Christmas in his own castle. Bellingham, who had now replaced St. Leger as lord deputy, set out at once, with a small party of horse, for the residence of the refractory noble, seized him as he sat by his own fire-side, and carried him off in triumph to Dublin.

In 1548 O'Connor and O'More were expelled from Offaly and Leix, and their territory usurped by an Englishman, named Francis Bryan. Cahir Roe O'Connor, one of the sept, was executed in Dublin, and a number of the tribe were sent to assist in the Scotch wars. The political cabals in England consequent on the youth of the king, who nominally governed the country, occasioned frequent changes in the Irish administration.

In 1551 the lord deputy, Crofts, who succeeded Sir Thomas Cusack, led an army into Ulster against the Scotch settlers, who had long been regarded with a jealous eye by the English government; but he was defeated both at this time and on a subsequent occasion. No Parliament was convened during this short reign, and the affairs of the country were administered by the Privy Council. Dr. Browne and Dr. Staples were leading members. The chancellor, Read, and the treasurer, Brabazon, were both English. The Irish members were Aylmer, Luttrell, Bath, Howth, and Cusack, who had all recently conformed, at least exteriorly, to the new religion.

The most important native chieftain of the age was

Shane O'Neill. His father, Con, surnamed Baccagh ('the lame'), had procured the title of baron of Dungannon, and the entail of the earldom of Tyrone, from Henry VII., for his illegitimate son, Ferdoragh. He now wished to alter this arrangement; but the ungrateful youth made such charges against the old man, that he was seized and imprisoned by the deputy. After his death Shane contended bravely for his rights. The French appear to have made some attempt about this period to obtain allies in Ireland, but the peace which ensued between that country and England soon terminated such intrigues.

All efforts to establish the royal supremacy during this reign were equally unsuccessful. On Easter Sunday, A.D. 1551, the liturgy was read for the first time in the English tongue in Christ Church cathedral. As a reward for his energy in introducing the reform in general, and the liturgy in particular, Edward VI. annexed the primacy of all Ireland to the see of Dublin by act of Parliament. There was one insuperable obstacle, however, in the way of using the English tongue, which was simply that the people did not understand it. Even the descendants of the Anglo-Normans were more familiar with the Celtic dialect, and some attempt was made at this time to procure a Latin translation of the Protestant communion service.

When Mary ascended the throne of England, in 1553, the Irish were naturally much elated, hoping for a time of peace. This they certainly obtained, as far as the permission to exercise their religion unmolested was concerned, but they failed to secure any temporal advantages.

A synod was held at Dundalk, where the very few prelates and priests who had conformed under Henry VIII. were deprived of their offices. The number was so small that the necessary arrangements were easily made. The only prelates that were removed were Browne, of Dublin; Staples, of Meath; Lancaster, of Kildare; and Travers, of Leighlin. Goodacre died a few months after his intrusion into the see of Armagh; Bale, of Ossory, fled beyond the seas; Casey, of Limerick, followed his example. All were English except the latter, and all, except Staples, were professing Protestants at the time of their appointment to

their respective sees. Bale, who owed the Kilkenny people a grudge, for the indignant and rather warm reception with which they greeted him on his intrusion into the see, gives a graphic account of the joy with which the news of Edward's death was received. The people 'flung up their caps to the battlements of the great temple;' set the bells ringing; brought out incense and holy water, and formed once more a Catholic procession, chanting the *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, as of old. In fact, 'on the accession of Mary to the throne, so little had been done in the interest of the Reformation, that there was little or nothing to undo. She issued a licence for the celebration of mass in Ireland, where no other service was or had been celebrated worth mentioning, and where no other supreme head had been ever in earnest acknowledged but the pope.'

In the year 1553 Gerald and Edward, the sons of the late earl of Kildare, returned from exile, and were restored to the family honours and possessions. The Four Masters say that 'there was great rejoicing because of their arrival, for it was thought that not one of the descendants of the earls of Kildare or of the O'Connors Faly would ever again come to Ireland.' They also mention that Margaret, a daughter of O'Connor Faly, went to England, 'relying on the number of her friends and relatives there, and her knowledge of the English language, to request queen Mary to restore her father to her.' Her petition was granted, but he was soon after seized again by the English officials and cast into prison.

Shane O'Neill made an unsuccessful attempt to recover his paternal dominions, in 1557. The following year his father died in captivity,¹ in Dublin, and he procured the murder of Ferdoragh, so that he was able to obtain his

¹ Lord chancellor Cusack addressed a very curious *Book on the State of Ireland* to the duke of Northumberland, in 1552, in which he mentions the fearful condition of the northern counties. He states that 'the cause why the earl was retained [in Dublin castle] was for the wasting and destroying of his county.' This work is one of considerable interest, and gives important and reliable details, both of public affairs and of the private feuds which tended so much to complicate the politics of the period. It would well repay the student for a careful perusal.

wishes without opposition. Elizabeth had now ascended the English throne (A.D. 1558), and, as usual, those in power, who wished to retain office, made their religion suit the views of the new ruler. The earl of Sussex still continued viceroy, and merely reversed his previous acts. Sir Henry Sidney also made his worldly interests and his religious views coincide. A Parliament was held in Dublin, in 1560, on the 12th of January. It was composed of seventy-six members, the representatives of ten counties, the remainder being citizens and burgesses of those towns in which the royal authority was predominant. 'It is little wonder,' observes Leland, 'that, in despite of clamour and opposition, in a session of a few weeks, the whole ecclesiastical system of queen Mary was entirely reversed.' Every subject connected with this assembly and its enactments demands the most careful consideration, as it has been asserted by some writers—who, however, have failed to give the proofs of their assertion—that the Irish Church and nation followed the example of England. This certainly was not the opinion of the government officials, who were appointed by royal authority to enforce the act, and who would have been only too happy could they have reported success to their mistress.

The official list of the members summoned to this Parliament has been recently published by the Irish Archæological Society. More than two-thirds of the upper house were persons of whose devotion to the Catholic faith there has been no question; there were but few members in the lower house. No county in Ulster was allowed a representative, and only one of its borough towns, Carrickfergus, was permitted to elect a member. Munster furnished twenty members. No county members were allowed in Connaught, and it had only two boroughs, Galway and Athenry, from which it could send a voice to represent its wishes. The remaining fifty members were chosen from a part of Leinster. In fact, the Parliament was constituted on the plan before mentioned. Those who were considered likely to agree with the government were allowed to vote; those of whose dissent there could be no doubt were not allowed a voice in the affairs of the nation.

It might be supposed that, with the exception of a few members of the upper house, such a Parliament would at once comply with the queen's wishes; but the majority made no secret of their intention to oppose the change of religion, and the penal code which should be enacted to enforce it. The deputy was in an unpleasant position. Elizabeth would not easily brook the slightest opposition to her wishes. The deputy did not feel prepared to encounter her anger, and he determined to avoid the difficulty, by having recourse to a most unworthy stratagem. First, he prorogued the house from the 11th of January to the 1st of February 1560; and then took advantage of the first day of meeting, when but few members were present, to get the act passed; secondly, he solemnly swore that the law should never be carried into execution, and by this false oath procured the compliance of those who still hesitated. I shall give authority for these statements.

The letter of Elizabeth, with her positive instructions to have the law passed, was dated October 18, 1559, and may be seen *in extenso* in the *Liber Munerum Hiberniæ*, vol. i. p. 113. There are several authorities for the dishonest course pursued by the lord deputy. The author of *Cambrænsis Eversus* says: 'The deputy is said to have used force, and the speaker treachery. I heard that it had been previously announced in the house that Parliament would not sit on that very day on which the laws against religion were enacted; but, in the meantime, a private summons was sent to those who were well known to be favourable to the old creed.' Father George Dillon, who died in 1650, a martyr to his charity in assisting the plague-stricken people of Waterford, gives the following account of the transaction: 'James Stanihurst, lord of Corduff, who was speaker of the lower house, by sending private summons to some, without any intimation to the more respectable Irish who had a right to attend, succeeded in carrying that law by surprise. As soon as the matter was discovered, in the next full meeting of Parliament, there was a general protest against the fraud, injustice, and *deliberate treachery* of the proceeding; but the lord justice, having solemnly sworn that the law would never be carried

into execution, the remonstrants were caught in the dexterous snare, and consented that the enactment should remain on the statute-book.'

The Loftus manuscript, in Marsh's Library, and Sir James Ware, both mention the positive refusal of the Parliament to pass this law, and the mission of the earl of Sussex to consult her majesty as to what should be done with the refractory members. If he then proposed the treachery which he subsequently carried out, there is no reason to suppose Elizabeth would have been squeamish about it, as we find she was quite willing to allow even more questionable methods to be employed on other occasions.

The Loftus manuscript mentions a convocation of bishops which assembled this year, 'by the queen's command, for establishing the Protestant religion.' The convocation was, if possible, a greater failure than the Parliament.¹

Notwithstanding the solemn promise of the lord deputy, the penal statutes against Catholics were carried out. In 1563 the earl of Essex issued a proclamation, by which all priests, secular and regular, were forbidden to officiate, or even to reside in Dublin. Fines and penalties were strictly enforced for absence from the Protestant service; before long, torture and death were inflicted.

Curry gives some account of those who suffered for the faith in this reign. He says: 'Among many other Roman Catholic bishops and priests, there were put to death, for the exercise of their function in Ireland, Globy O'Boyle, abbot of Boyle, and Owen O'Mulkeran, abbot of the mo-

¹ Mr. Froude remarks, in his *History of England*, vol. x. p. 480: 'There is no evidence that any of the bishops in Ireland who were in office at queen Mary's death, with the exception of Curwin, either accepted the Reformed Prayer Book, or abjured the authority of the pope.' He adds, in a foot-note: 'I cannot but express my astonishment at a proposition maintained by bishop Mant and others, that the whole hierarchy of Ireland went over to the Reformation with the Government. In a survey of the country supplied to Cecil in 1571, after death and deprivation had enabled the government to fill several sees, the archbishops of Armagh, Tuam, and Cashel, with almost every one of the bishops of the respective provinces, are described as *Catholici et Confederati*. The archbishop of Dublin, with the bishops of Kildare, Ossory, and Ferns, are alone returned as "Protestantes."'

nastery of the Holy Trinity, hanged and quartered by lord Grey, in 1580. John Stephens suffered the same punishment from lord Burroughs, for saying mass, in 1597; Thady O'Boyle was slain in his own monastery at Donegal; six friars were slain at Moynihigan; John O'Calylhor and Bryan O'Freeor were killed at their monastery in Ulster, with Felimy O'Hara, a lay brother. Eneus Penny was massacred at the altar of his own parish church, Killagh. Fourteen other priests died in Dublin castle, either from hard usage or the violence of torture.'

Dr. Adam Loftus, the Protestant archbishop of Armagh, was one of the most violent persecutors of the Catholics. In his first report to the queen, dated May 17th, 1565, he describes the nobility of the Pale as all devoted to the ancient creed; and he recommends that they should be fined 'in a good round sum,' which should be paid to her majesty's use, and 'sharply dealt withal.' On September 22, 1590, after twenty-five years had been spent in the fruitless attempt to convert the Irish, he writes to lord Burleigh, detailing the causes of the general decay of the Protestant religion in Ireland, and suggesting 'how the same may be remedied.' He advises that the ecclesiastical commission should be put in force, 'for the people are poor, and fear to be fined.' He requests that he and such commissioners as are 'well affected in religion, may be permitted to imprison and fine all such as are obstinate and disobedient;' and he has no doubt, that 'within a short time they will be reduced to good conformity.'

Even Sir John Perrot, who has the name of being one of the most humane of the lord deputies, could not refrain from acts of cruelty where Catholics were concerned. On one occasion he killed fifty persons, and brought their heads home in triumph to Kilmallock, where he arranged them as a trophy round the cross in the public square. In 1582 he advised her majesty 'that friars, monks, Jesuits, priests, nuns, and such like vermin, who openly uphold the papacy, should be executed by martial law.' The officers of the troops sent to put down popery seem to have rivalled each other in acts of cruelty. One is said to have tied his victim to a maypole, and then punched out his eyes with

his thumbs. Others amused themselves with flinging up infants into the air, and catching them on the points of their swords. Francis Crosby, the deputy of Leix, used to hang men, women, and children on an immense tree which grew before his door, without any crime being imputed to them except their faith, and then to watch with delight how the unhappy infants hung by the long hair of their martyred mothers.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A.D. 1561 TO A.D. 1599.

REVOLTS OF THE IRISH CHIEFTAINS DURING THE REIGN
OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS: Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley—Pius V. pope—Battle of Lepanto—Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day—Portugal united to Spain—Execution of Mary Queen of Scots—Destruction of the Spanish Armada—Death of Philip III. of Spain.

SECTION I. *Shane O'Neill.*

THE exploits of Shane O'Neill, and his gallant resistance to English rule in Ireland, belong almost to the romance of history. He was an Ulster chieftain of the old race, and had not only held his own territory, but also added to it by conquest, so that he ruled the whole of Ulster.

Even his letters are signed, if not written, in royal style. He dates one *Ex finibus de Tirconail*, when about to wage war with the neighbouring sept of O'Donnell's; he dates another, *Ex silvis meis*; when, in pursuance of his Celtic mode of warfare, he hastened into his woods to avoid an engagement with the English soldiers, he signs himself *Misi O'Neill*—Me, the O'Neill.

In 1516 Sussex returned from England with reinforcements for his army, and marched to Armagh, where he established himself in the cathedral. From thence he sent out a large body of troops to plunder in Tyrone, but they were intercepted by the redoubtable Shane O'Neill, and suffered so serious a defeat as to alarm the inhabitants of the Pale, and even the English nation. Fresh supplies of

men and arms were hastily despatched from England, and the earls of Desmond, Ormonde, Kildare, Thomond, and Clanrickarde assembled around the viceregal standard to assist in suppressing the formidable foe. And well might they fear the lion-hearted chieftain! A few years later, Sidney describes him as the only strong man in Ireland. The queen was warned, that unless he were speedily put down, she would lose Ireland, as her sister had lost Calais. He had gained all Ulster by his sword, and ruled therein with a far stronger hand, and on a far firmer foundation, than ever any English monarch had obtained in any part of Ireland. Ulster was his *terra clausa*; and he would be a bold, and perhaps a rash man, who dare intrude in these dominions. He could muster seven thousand men in the field; and though he seldom hazarded a general engagement, he 'slew in divers conflicts three thousand five hundred soldiers, and three hundred Scots of Sidney's army.' The English chronicler, Hooker, who lived in times when the blaze and smoke of houses and haggards, set on fire by Shane, could be seen even from Dublin castle, declares that it was feared he intended to make a conquest of the whole land.

As this man was too clever to be captured, and too brave to be conquered, a plan was arranged, with Elizabeth's free concurrence, to get rid of him by poison or assassination. The evidence of the royal complicity is preserved in the records of the State Paper Office.

The proposal for this diabolical treachery, and the arrangements made for carrying it out, were related by Sussex to the queen. He writes thus: 'In fine, I brake with him to kill Shane, and bound myself by my oath to see him have a hundred marks of land to him and to his heirs for reward. He seemed desirous to serve your highness, and to have the land, but fearful to do it, doubting his own escape after. I told him the ways he might do it, and how to escape after with safety; which he offered and promised to do.' The earl adds a piece of information, which, no doubt, he communicated to the intended murderer, and which, probably, decided him on making the attempt: 'I assure your highness he may do it without danger if he

will; and if he will not do what he may in your service, there will be done to him what others may.'

Her majesty, however, had a character to support; and whatever she may have privately wished and commanded, she was obliged to disavow complicity publicly. In two despatches from court she expresses her 'displeasure at John Smith's horrible attempt to poison Shane O'Neill in his wine.' In the following spring John Smith was committed to prison, and 'closely examined by lord chancellor Cusake.' What became of John is not recorded, but it is recorded that 'lord chancellor Cusake persuaded O'Neill to forget the poisoning.' His clan, however, were not so easily persuaded, and strongly objected to his meeting the viceroy in person, or affording him an opportunity which he might not live to forget. About this time O'Neill despatched a document to the viceroy for his consideration, containing a list of 'other evill practices devised to other of the Irish nation within ix or tenn yeares past.' The first item mentions that Donill O'Breyne and Morghe O'Breyne, his son, 'required the benefit of her majesty's laws, by which they required to be tried, and thereof was denied;' and that when they came to Limerick under the protection of the lord deputy, they were proclaimed traitors, and their lands and possessions taken from them. Several other violations of protection are then enumerated, and several treacherous murders are recorded, particularly the murder of Art Boy Cavanagh, at Captain Hearn's house, after he had dined with him, and of Randall Boye's two sons, who were murdered, one after supper, and the other in the tower, by Brereton, 'who escaped without punishment.'

In October 1562 Shane was invited to England, and was received by Elizabeth with marked courtesy. His appearance at court is thus described by Camden, A.D. 1562: 'From Ireland came Shane O'Neill, who had promised to come the year before, with a guard of axe-bearing galloglasses, their heads bare, their long curling hair flowing on their shoulders, their linen garments dyed with saffron, with long open sleeves, with short tunics, and furry cloaks, whom the English wondered at as much as they do now at the Chinese or American aborigines.' Shane's visit to

London was considered of such importance that we find a memorandum in the State Paper Office, by 'secretary Sir W. Cecil, March 1562,' of the means to be used with Shane O'Neill, in which the first item is, that 'he be procured to change his garments, and go like an Englishman.' But this was precisely what O'Neill had no idea of doing. Sussex appears to have been O'Neill's declared and open enemy. There is more than one letter extant from the northern chief to the deputy. In one of these he says: 'I wonder very much for what purpose your lordship strives to destroy me.' In another, he declares that his delay in visiting the queen had been caused by the 'amount of obstruction which Sussex had thrown in his way, by sending a force of occupation into his territory without cause; for as long as there shall be one son of a Saxon in my territory against my will, from that time forth I will not send you either settlement or message, but will send my complaint through some other medium to the queen.' In writing to the Baron of Slane, he says that 'nothing will please him [the deputy] but to plant himself in my lands and my native territory, as I am told every day that he desires to be styled earl of Ulster.'

The lord chancellor Cusack appears, on the contrary, to have constantly befriended him. On January 12, 1568 he writes of O'Neill's 'dutifulness and most commendable dealing with the Scots;' and soon after three English members of the Dublin government complain that Cusack had entrapped them into signing a letter to the unruly chieftain. There is one dark blot upon the escutcheon of this remarkable man. He had married the daughter of O'Donnell, lord of one of the Hebrides. After a time he and his father-in-law quarrelled, and Shane contrived to capture O'Donnell and his second wife. He kept this lady for several years as his mistress; and his own wife is said to have died of shame and horror at his conduct, and at his cruel treatment of her father.

After many ineffectual attempts at assassination, Shane at last fell a victim to treachery. Sir William Piers, the governor of Carrickfergus, invited some Scotch soldiers over to Ireland, and then persuaded them to quarrel with

him and kill him. They accomplished their purpose by raising a disturbance at a feast, when they rushed on the northern chieftain and despatched him with their swords. His head was sent to Dublin, and his old enemies took the poor revenge of impaling it on the castle walls.

SECTION II. *The Viceroyalty of Sir Henry Sidney.*

The earl of Sussex was recalled from Ireland in 1564, and Sir Henry Sidney was appointed viceroy. The earls of Ormonde and Desmond had again quarrelled, and in 1562 both earls were summoned to court by the queen. Elizabeth was related to the Butlers through her mother's family, and used to boast of the loyalty of the house of Ormonde. The Geraldines adhered to the ancient faith, and suffered for it. A battle was fought at Affane, near Cappoquin, between the two parties, in which Desmond was wounded and made prisoner. The man who bore him from the field asked, tauntingly: 'Where is now the proud earl of Desmond?' He replied, with equal pride and wit: 'Where he should be; upon the necks of the Butlers.'

At the close of the month of January 1567 the lord deputy set out on a visitation of Munster and Connaught. In his official account he writes thus of Munster: 'Like as I never was in a more pleasant country in all my life, so never saw I a more waste and desolate land. Such horrible and lamentable spectacles are there to behold—as the burning of villages, the ruin of churches, the wasting of such as have been good towns and castles; yea, the view of the bones and skulls of the dead subjects, who, partly by murder, partly by famine, have died in the fields—as, in truth, hardly any Christian with dry eyes could behold.' He declares that in the territory subject to the earl of Ormonde he witnessed 'a want of justice and judgment.' He describes the earl of Desmond as 'a man devoid of judgment to govern, and of will to be ruled.' The earl of Thomond, he says, 'had neither wit of himself to govern, nor grace or capacity to learn of others.' The earl of Clanrickarde he describes as 'so overruled by a putative wife, as oftentimes, when he best intendeth, she forceth him

to do the worst ;' and it would appear that neither he nor his lady could govern their own family, for their sons were so turbulent that they kept the whole country in disturbance. In Galway he found the people trying to protect themselves as best they might from their dangerous neighbours; and at Athenry there were but four respectable householders, who presented him with the rusty keys of their town—'a pitiful and lamentable present;' and they requested him to keep those keys, for 'they were so impoverished by the extortions of the lords about them, as they were no longer able to keep that town.'

Nor was the state of religious affairs at all more promising. The deputy describes the kingdom as 'overwhelmed by the most deplorable immorality and irreligion;' the Privy Council, in their deliberations, give a similar account. 'As for religion, there was but small appearance of it; the churches uncovered, and the clergy scattered.' An act of Parliament was then passed to remedy the evils which acts of Parliament had created. In the preamble (11th Elizabeth, sess. iii. cap. 6) it mentions the 'disorders which Sidney had found, and complains of 'the great abuse of the clergy in getting into the said dignities by force, simony, friendship, and other corrupt means, to the great overthrow of God's holy Church;' and for remedy, the act authorises the *lord deputy* to appoint, for ten years, to all the ecclesiastical benefices of these provinces, with the exception of the cathedral churches of Waterford, Limerick, Cork, and Cashel.

But it was soon evident that acts of Parliament could not effect ecclesiastical reforms, though they might enforce exterior conformity to a new creed. In 1576 Sidney again complains of the state of the Irish Church, and addresses himself, with almost blasphemous flattery, to the head of that body, 'as to the only sovereign salve-giver to this your sore and sick realm, the lamentable state of the most noble and principal limb thereof—the Church I mean—as foul, deformed, and as cruelly crushed as any other part thereof, only by your gracious order to be cured, or at least amended. I would not have believed, had I not, for a greater part, viewed the same throughout the whole realm.' He then gives a detailed account of the state of the diocese of Meath,

which he declares to be the best governed and best peopled diocese in the realm ; and from his official report of the state of religion there, he thinks her majesty may easily judge of the spiritual condition of less-favoured districts. He says there are no resident parsons or vicars, and only a very simple or sorry curate appointed to serve them ; of them, only eighteen could speak English, the rest being ‘ Irish ministers, or rather Irish rogues, having very little Latin, and less learning or civility.’ The fact was, that the Irish people, whose minds had been long imbued with the deepest hatred to everything English, abhorred the adoption of a religion which came to them from those whom they considered as their oppressors. They saw the ancient monasteries and churches, which had once been the pride of their country, desolated and in ruins. They could not be expected to repair them when they knew that they would be no longer used by the priests of their own faith ; and these same priests generally remained concealed in the woods nearest to their old parish churches, and whence they came forth at night to administer the sacraments to the people, who faithfully guarded their retreat.

SECTION III.

The Plantation of Ulster—Essex and Sidney alternately govern Ireland.

Sidney returned to England in 1567, where his presence was absolutely necessary for his own interests, as his enemies were taking advantage of his absence to discredit his government with the queen. He was, however, permitted to return in 1568, when he landed at Carrickfergus, and received the submission of Turlough O'Neill, who had been elected chieftain after the death of Shane. His first public act was to assemble a Parliament, in which all constitutional rules were simply set at defiance (January 17th, 1569). Mayors and sheriffs returned themselves ; members were sent up for towns not incorporated, and several Englishmen were elected as burgesses for places they had never seen. One of these men, Hooker, who was returned for Athenry, has left a chronicle of the age. He had to be protected by

a guard in going to his residence. Popular feeling was so strongly manifested against this gross injustice, that the judges were consulted as to the legality of proceedings, of whose iniquity there could be no doubt. The elections for non-corporate towns, and the elections of individuals by themselves, were pronounced invalid; but a decision was given in favour of non-resident Englishmen, which still gave the court a large majority. In this Parliament—if, indeed, it could be called such—acts were passed for attainting Shane O'Neill, for suppressing the name, and for annexing Tyrone to the royal possessions. Charter schools were to be founded, of which the teachers should be English and Protestants; and the law before-mentioned, for permitting the lord deputy to appoint persons to ecclesiastical benefices for ten years, was passed.

Sidney now attempted a plan of local government by appointing presidents to rule different provinces; but this arrangement simply multiplied the number of licensed oppressors. Sir Edward Fitton was appointed president of Connaught, and Sir John Perrot, of Munster. Both of these gentlemen distinguished themselves by 'strong measures,' of which cruelty to the unfortunate natives was the predominant feature. Perrot boasted that he would 'hunt the fox out of his hole,' and devoted himself to the destruction of the Geraldines. Fitton arrested the earl of Clanrickarde, and excited a general disturbance. In 1570 the queen determined to lay claim to the possessions in Ulster, graciously conceded to her by the gentlemen who had been permitted to vote according to her royal pleasure in the so-called Parliament of 1569. She bestowed the district of Ards, in Down, upon her secretary, Sir Thomas Smith. It was described as 'divers parts and parcels of her highness' earldom of Ulster that lay waste, or else was inhabited with a wicked, barbarous, and uncivil people.'

The tract of country thus unceremoniously bestowed on an English adventurer was in the possession of Sir Rowland Savage, a descendant of one of the early Anglo-Norman settlers. Thus it was proved in many cases, that it was no special enmity to the native Irish which caused them to be so frequently dispossessed of their lands, since the English

settlers who had been any length of time in the country were liable to similar treatment. It was, in fact, the culmination of a system of government as unwise as it was unjust, by which the rights of property in Ireland were never respected, and as a natural result there could be no national prosperity.

The first State Paper notice of this enterprise is in a letter, dated February 8, 1572, from Captain Piers to the lord deputy, stating that the country is in an uproar 'at Mr. Smith's coming over to plant in the north.' The uproar ended by Mr. Smith's being 'intercepted and slain by a wild Irishman.' In fact, one of the men whom he had expelled from the land on which he had lived for centuries, took the law into his own hands, and effectually enforced his claim to his ancestral property.

Before his assassination Smith had written an account of his proceedings to his father, in which he says that 'envy had hindered him more than the enemy,' and that he had been ill-handled by some of his own soldiers, ten of whom he had punished. He also expresses some fear of the native Irish, whom he had tried to drive out of their lands, as he says they sometimes lay 'wait to intrap and murder the maister himself.' Each plantation, which will be recorded afterwards, was carried out on the same plan. The object of the Englishman was to obtain a home and a fortune; to do this he was obliged to drive the natives out of their homes, and to deprive them of their wealth, whether greater or less. The object of the Irishman was to keep out the intruder; and, if he could not be kept out, to get rid of him by fair means or foul.

It is probable that the attempt of Smith was intended by government principally as an experiment to ascertain whether the plantation could be carried out on a larger scale. The next attempt was made by Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, who received part of the signories of Clannaboy and Ferney, provided he could expel the 'rebels' who dwelt there. Essex mortgaged his estates to the queen to obtain funds for the enterprise. He was accompanied by Sir Henry Kenlis, lord Dacres, and lord Norris's three sons.

Sir William FitzGerald, the then lord deputy, complained

loudly of the extraordinary powers granted to Essex; and some show of deference to his authority was made by requiring the earl to receive his commission from him. Essex landed in Ireland in 1573, and the usual career of tyranny and treachery was enacted. The native chieftains resisted the invasion of their territories, and endeavoured to drive out the men whom they could only consider as robbers. The invaders, when they could not conquer, stooped to acts of treachery. Essex soon found that the conquest of Ulster was not quite so easy a task as he had anticipated. Many of the adventurers who had assumed his livery, and joined his followers, deserted him; and Brian O'Neill, Hugh O'Neill, and Turlough O'Neill rose up against him. Essex then invited Conn O'Donnell to his camp; but, as soon as he secured him, he seized his castle of Lifford, and sent the unfortunate chieftain a prisoner to Dublin.

In 1574 the earl and Brian O'Neill made peace. A feast was prepared by the latter, to which Essex and his principal followers were invited; but after this entertainment had lasted for three days and nights, 'as they were agreeably drinking and making merry, Brian, his brother, and his wife were seized upon by the earl, and all his people put unsparingly to the sword—men, women, youths, and maidens—in Brian's own presence. Brian was afterwards sent to Dublin, together with his wife and brother, where they were cut in quarters. Such was the end of their feast. This wicked and treacherous murder of the lord of the race of Hugh Boy O'Neill, the head and the senior of the race of Eoghan, son of Nial of the Nine Hostages, and of all the Gaels, a few only excepted, was a sufficient cause of hatred and dispute to the English by the Irish.'

Essex visited England in 1575, and tried to induce the queen to give him further assistance in his enterprise. On her refusal he retired to Ireland, and died in Dublin, September 22, 1576. It was rumoured that he had died of poison, and that the poison was administered at the desire of the earl of Leicester, who soon after divorced his own wife, and married the widow of his late rival. Essex complained bitterly in his letter to Sir Henry Sidney, of the way in which he had been treated in his projected planta-

tion of Clonnaboy, and protested against the injustice which had been done through him on O'Donnell, MacMahon, and others, who were always peaceable and loyal, but 'whom he had, on the pledged word of the queen, undone with fair promises.' Probably, only for his own 'undoing,' he would have had but scant pity for others.

Sir Henry Sidney returned to Ireland in 1575. He tells us himself how he took on him, 'the third time, that thanklesse charge; and so taking leave of her majesty, kissed her sacred hands, with most gracious and comfortable wordes, departed from her at Dudley castell, passed the seas, and arrived the xiii of September 1575, as nere the city of Dublin as I could saufly; for at that tyme the city was greivously infested with the contagion of the pestilence.' He then proceeded to Tredagh (Drogheda), where he received the sword of the then deputy. He then marched northward, and attacked Sorley Boy and the Scotch, who were besieging Carrickfergus; and after he had conquered them, he received the submission of Turlough O'Neill and other Ulster chieftains. Turlough's wife, the lady Agnes O'Neill, *née* M'Donnell, was aunt to the earl of Argyle, and appears to have been very much in favour with the lord deputy.

In the 'depe of wynter' he went to Cork, where he remained from Christmas to Candlemas. He mentions his entertainment at Barry's Court with evident zest, and says 'there never was such a Christmas kept in the same.' In February he visited Thomond, and subdued 'a wicked generation, some of whom he killed, and some he hanged by order of law,'—a nice distinction, which could hardly have been appreciated by the victims. The earl of Clanrickarde caused his 'two most bade and rebellious sonnes' to make submission, 'whom I would to God I had then hanged.' However, he kept them close prisoners, and 'had a sermon made of them and their wickedness in the chief church of the town.' John seems to have been the principal delinquent. Some time after, when they had been set at liberty, they rebelled again; and he records the first 'memorable act' which one of them had done, adding, 'which I am sure was John.'

Sidney then marched into the west, and had an interview with the famous Grace O'Malley, or Granuaile, which he describes thus: 'There came to me also a most famous femynyne sea captain, called Granuge I'Mally, and offered her services unto me wheresoever I would command her, with three galleys and two hundred fighting men. She brought with her her husband, for she was as well by sea as by land more than master's-mate with him. He was of the nether Burkes, and called by nickname Richard in Iron. This was a notorious woman in all the coasts of Ireland. This woman did Philip Sidney see, and speak with; he can more at large inform you of her.' Grana, or Grace O'Malley, was the daughter of a chieftain of the same patronymic. Her paternal clan were strong in galleys and ships. They owned a large territory on the sea-coast, besides the islands of Arran. Her first husband was Donnell O'Flaherty. His belligerent propensities could scarcely have been less than hers, for he is termed *Aith Chogaid*, or 'of the wars.' Her second husband, Sir Richard Burke, or Richard *an Iarainn*, is described by the Four Masters as a 'plundering, warlike, unjust, and rebellious man.' He obtained his *sobriquet* from the circumstance of constantly appearing in armour. It would appear from this account that Sidney's statement of the lady Grana being 'more than master's-mate with him,' must be taken with some limitations, unless, indeed, he who ruled his foes abroad, failed to rule his wife at home, which is quite possible. One of her castles still remains; it is situated near the lake of Borrishoole, in the county Mayo. The ruins are very striking, and show that it was once a fortress of considerable strength.

SECTION IV.

The English Lords of the Pale oppose the English Government.

In 1577 serious complications were threatened, in consequence of the pecuniary difficulties of the crown. An occasional subsidy had been granted hitherto for the support of the government and the army; an attempt was

now made to convert this subsidy into a tax. On previous occasions there had been some show of justice, however little may have been the reality, by permitting the Parliament to pass the grant; a scheme was now proposed to empower the lord deputy to levy assessments by royal authority, without any reference to Parliament. For the first time the Pale opposed the government, and resisted the innovation. But their opposition was speedily and effectually silenced. The deputies whom they sent to London to remonstrate were committed to the Tower, and orders were despatched to Ireland that all who had signed the remonstrance should be consigned to Dublin castle.

The earl of Desmond wrote an elaborate and well-digested appeal to lord Burleigh, complaining of military abuses, and assuring his lordship that if he had 'sene them [the poor who were burdened with cess] he would rather give them charitable alms than burden them with any kind of chardge.' He mentions specially the cruelty of compelling a poor man to carry for five, eight, or ten miles, on his back, as many sheaves as the 'horseboies' choose to demand of him; and if he goes not a 'good pace, though the poor soule be overburdened, he is all the waye beaten out of all measure.'

Cess was also commanded to be delivered at the 'queen's price,' which was considerably lower than the market price. Even Sidney was supposed to be too lenient in his exactions; but eventually a composition of seven years' purveyance, payable by instalments, was agreed upon, and the question was set at rest. The queen and the English Council naturally feared to alienate the few nobles who were friendly to them, as well as the inhabitants of the Pale, who were as a majority in their interest.

The Pale was kept in considerable alarm at this period by the exploits of the famous outlaw, Rory Oge O'More. In 1577 he stole into Naas with his followers, and set the town on fire; after this exploit he retired, without taking any lives. He continued these depredations for eighteen years. In 1578 he was killed by one of MacGillapatrik's men, and the Pale was relieved from a most formidable source of annoyance. But the same year in which this

brave outlaw terminated his career is signalised by one of the most fearful acts of bloodshed and treachery on record. The heads of the Irish families of Offaly and Leix, whose extirpation had long been attempted unsuccessfully, were invited in the queen's name, and under the queen's protection, to attend a conference at the great rath on the hill of Mullach-Maistean (Mullamast). As soon as they had all assembled, they were surrounded by a treble line of the queen's garrison soldiers, and butchered to a man in cold blood.

This massacre was performed with the knowledge and approval of the deputy, Sir Henry Sidney. The soldiers who accomplished the bloody work were commanded by captain Francis Crosby, to whom the chief command of all the kerne in the queen's pay was committed.

Sir Henry Sidney retired from office finally on May 26, 1578. He dates his *Memoir* from 'Ludlow Castell, with more payne than harte, the 1st of March 1582.' In this document he complains bitterly of the neglect of his services by government, and bemoans his losses in piteous strains. He describes himself as 'fifty-four yeres of age, toothlesse and trembling, being five thousand pounds in debt.' He says he shall leave his sons twenty thousand pounds worse off than his father left him. In one place he complains that he had not as much ground as would 'feede a mutton,' and he evidently considers his services were worth an ampler remuneration; for he declares: 'I would to God the country was yet as well as I lefte it almost fyve yeres agoe.' If he did not succeed in obtaining a large grant for his services, it certainly was not for want of asking it; and if he did not succeed in pacifying the country, it was not for lack of summary measures. Even in his postscript he mentions how he hanged a captain of Scots, and he thinks 'very nere twenty of his men.'

Exaggerated rumours were now spread throughout Munster of the probability of help from foreign sources—A.D. 1579. James FitzMaurice had been actively employed on the Continent in collecting troops and assistance for the Irish Catholics. In France his requests were politely refused, for Henry III. wished to continue on good terms with Elizabeth. Philip II. of Spain referred him to the

pope. In Rome he met with more encouragement; and at the solicitation of the Franciscan bishop of Killaloe, Cornelius O'Mullrain, Dr. Allen, and Dr. Saunders, he obtained a bull, encouraging the Irish to fight for the recovery of religious freedom, and for the liberation of their country. An expedition was fitted out at the expense of the Holy See, and maintained eventually by Philip of Spain. At the earnest request of FitzMaurice, an English adventurer, named Stukeley, was appointed admiral. The military command was bestowed on Hercules Pisano, a soldier of some experience.

Stukeley was reported to be an illegitimate son of Henry VIII. He was a wild and lawless adventurer, and entirely unfitted for such a command. At Lisbon he forsook his squadron, and joined the expedition which Sebastian, the romantic king of Portugal, was preparing to send to Morocco. FitzMaurice had travelled through France to Spain, from whence he proceeded to Ireland with a few troops. He had three small vessels besides his own, and on his way he captured two English ships. He was accompanied by Dr. Saunders, as legate, the bishop of Killaloe, and Dr. Allen. They were entirely ignorant of Stukeley's desertion until their arrival in Ireland. The squadron reached Dingle on the 17th of July 1579. Eventually they landed at Smerwick harbour, and threw themselves into the Fort del Ore, which they fortified as best they could. If the earl of Desmond had joined his brother at once, the expedition might have ended differently; but he stood aloof, fearing to involve himself in a struggle, the issue of which could scarcely be doubtful.

John Geraldine allied himself with the movement from its commencement. A second expedition was fitted out in Spain, which reached Ireland on the 13th of September 1580. It was commanded by Colonel Sebastian San José, who proved eventually so fearful a traitor to the cause he had volunteered to defend. Father Mathew de Oviedo, a member of the Franciscan order, was the principal promoter of this undertaking. He was a native of Spain, and had been educated in the college of Salamanca, then famous for the learning and piety of its students. The celebrated

Florence Conry, subsequently archbishop of Tuam, was one of his companions; and when he entered the Franciscan novitiate, he had the society of eleven brethren who were afterwards elevated to the episcopate. Oviedo was the bearer of a letter from the Roman pontiff, Gregory XIII., granting indulgences to those who joined the army.

On the 18th of August, scarcely a month after he had landed in Ireland, James FitzMaurice was killed by Theobald and Ulick Burke, his own kinsmen. Their father, Sir William Burke, was largely rewarded for his loyalty in opposing the Geraldines; and, if Camden is to be believed, he died of joy in consequence of the favours heaped upon him. The death of FitzMaurice was a fatal blow to the cause. John Geraldine, however, took the command of the force; but the earl hastened to Kilmallock to exculpate himself as best he could with the lord deputy. His apologies were accepted, and he was permitted to go free on leaving his only son, James, then a mere child, as hostage with Drury. The Geraldines were successful soon after in an engagement with the English; and Drury died in Waterford at the end of September. Ecclesiastical historians say that he had been cited by the martyrs of Kilmallock to meet them at Christ's judgment, and answer for his cruelties.

Sir Nicholas Malby was left in command of the army, and Sir William Pelham was elected lord deputy in Dublin. The usual career of burning and plundering was enacted—'the country was left one levelled plain, without corn or edifices.' Youghal was burned to the ground, and the mayor was hanged at his own door. James Desmond was hanged and quartered, by St. Leger and Raleigh, in Cork. Pelham signalised himself by cruelties, and executed a gentleman who had been blind from his birth, and another who was over a hundred years of age.

But the crowning tragedy was at hand. The expedition commanded by San José now arrived in Ireland. The Fort del Ore was once more occupied and strengthened; the courage of the insurgents was revived. Meanwhile lord Grey was marching southward with all possible haste. He soon reached the fort, and, at the same time, admirals

Winter and Bingham prepared to attack the place by sea. In a few days the courage of the Spanish commander failed, and he entered into treaty with the lord deputy. A bargain was made that he should receive a large share of the spoils. He had obtained a personal interview in the viceroy's camp, and the only persons for whom he made conditions were the Spaniards who had accompanied him on the expedition. The English were admitted to the fortress on the following day, and a feast was prepared for them. All arms and ammunition were consigned to the care of the English soldiers, and, this accomplished, the signal for massacre was given; and, according to lord Grey's official account, six hundred men were slain in cold blood. So universal was the reprobation of this fearful tragedy, that Sir Richard Bingham tried to make it appear that it had not been premeditated. Grey's official despatch places the matter beyond question, and Dr. Saunders' letter supplies the details on authority which cannot be disputed.

Three persons who had been treacherously given up to the viceroy were spared for special torments; those were—a priest named Lawrence, an Englishman named William Willick, and Oliver Plunket. They were offered liberty if they would renounce the faith; but on their resolute refusal, their legs and arms were broken in three places, and after they had been allowed to pass that night and the next day in torment, they were hanged and quartered. The 'State Papers' confirm the account given by Saunders of these barbarities.

Immense rewards were now offered for the capture of the Geraldine leaders, but their faithful followers would not be bribed. John was at length seized, through the intervention of a stranger. He was wounded in the struggle, and died immediately after; but his enemies wreaked their vengeance on his remains, which were gibbeted at Cork. The earl of Desmond was assassinated on the 11th of November 1583, and the hopeless struggle terminated with his death. He had been hunted from place to place like a wild beast, and, according to Hooker, obliged to dress his meat in one place, to eat it in another, and to sleep in a third. He was surprised, on one occasion, while his soldiers were

cooking their mid-day meal, and five-and-twenty of his followers were put to the sword; but he escaped, and fled to Kerry, where he was apprehended and slain. His head was sent to Elizabeth, and impaled on London-bridge, according to the barbarous practice of the time.

The severity of lord Grey's administration was complained of so bitterly, even by English subjects, that he was recalled. The administration was confided to Loftus, the Protestant archbishop of Dublin, and Sir Henry Walpole. In 1584, Sir John Perrot was under-deputy, and in 1585 he held a Parliament in Dublin, the principal object of which appears to have been the confiscation of Desmond's estates. This was opposed by many of the members; but the crown was determined to have them, and the crown obtained them. Thus lands to the extent of 574,628 acres were ready for new adventurers. The most tempting offers were made to induce Englishmen to plant; estates were given for twopence an acre; rent was only to commence after three years. No Irish families were to be admitted as tenants, though their labours might be accepted or compelled. English families were to be substituted in certain proportions; and on these conditions, Raleigh, Hatton, Norris, St. Leger, and others, obtained large grants.

Meanwhile Sir Richard Bingham was opposing the conciliatory policy of the deputy, and hanged seventy persons at one session in Galway, in January A.D. 1586. Perrot interfered; but the Burkes, who had been maddened by Bingham's cruelties, broke out into open rebellion; and he pointed to the revolt which he had himself occasioned, as a justification of his former conduct. The Scotch now joined the Burkes, but were eventually defeated by the president, the Irish annalists say, with the loss of two thousand men. Another bloody assize was held in Galway, where young and old alike were victims.

SECTION V. *Hugh Roe O'Donnell's Capture and Escape.*

Hugh O'Neill, the head of the O'Neill clan in Ulster, had fought under the English standard during the Geraldine war, but he now began to manifest symptoms of independ-

ence which alarmed the government. He had taken his seat in Parliament as earl of Tyrone, and by a judicious mixture of flattery and deference had obtained letters patent under the great seal from Elizabeth, securing his title and estates, with the permission to keep up a standing army of six companies. O'Neill had married a daughter of Sir Hugh O'Donnell, and Sir Hugh had refused to admit an English sheriff into his territory. This increased the fears of the lord deputy, who determined to get some of the northern chieftains into his possession as a hostage. The treachery was accomplished thus: a vessel, laden with Spanish wine, was sent to Donegal on pretence of traffic. It anchored at Rathmullen, where it had been ascertained that Hugh Roe O'Donnell, O'Neill's nephew, was staying with his foster-father, MacSweeny. The wine was distributed plentifully to the country people; and when MacSweeny sent to make purchases, the men declared there was none left for sale, but if the gentlemen came on board, they should have what was left. Hugh and his companions easily fell into the snare. They were hospitably entertained, but their arms were carefully removed, the hatches were shut down, the cable cut, and the ship stood off to sea. The guests who were not wanted were put ashore, but the unfortunate youth was taken to Dublin, and confined in the castle.

In 1588 Sir John Perrot was succeeded by Sir William FitzWilliam, a nobleman of the most opposite character and disposition. Perrot was generally regretted by the native Irish, as he was considered one of the most humane of the lord deputies. The wreck of the Spanish Armada occurred during this year, and was made at once an excuse for increased severity towards the Catholics, and for acts of grievous injustice. Even loyal persons were accused of harbouring the shipwrecked men, as it was supposed they might have obtained some treasure in return for their hospitality. FitzWilliam, according to Ware, wished to 'finger some of it himself,' and invaded the territories of several Irish chieftains. A complete history of FitzWilliam's acts of injustice, and the consummate cruelty with which they were perpetrated, would be so painful to relate,

that they can scarcely be recorded in detail. He farmed out the country to the highest bidders, who practised every possible extortion on the unfortunate natives. The favourite method of compelling them to yield up their lands without resistance, was to fry the soles of their feet in boiling brimstone and grease. When torture did not succeed, some unjust accusation was brought forward, and they were hanged. A tract preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, gives details of these atrocities, from which I shall only select one instance. A landlord was anxious to obtain the property of one of his tenants, an Irishman, who had lived 'peaceably and quietly, as a good subject,' for many years. He agreed with the sheriff to divide the spoil with him, if he would assist in the plot. The man and his servant were seized; the latter was hanged, and the former was sent to Dublin castle, to be imprisoned on some pretence. The gentleman and the sheriff at once seized the tenant's property, and turned his wife and children out to beg. After a short time, 'they, by their credit and countenance, being both English gentlemen, informed the lord deputy so hardly of him, as that, without indictment or trial, they executed him.'

In 1590, Hugh of the Fetters, an illegitimate son of the famous Shane O'Neill, was hanged by the earl of Tyrone, for having made false charges against him to the lord deputy. This exercise of authority excited considerable fear, and the earl was obliged to clear himself of blame before Elizabeth. After a brief detention in London, he was permitted to return to Ireland, but not until he had signed certain articles in the English interest, which he observed precisely as long as it suited his convenience. About this time his nephew, Hugh O'Donnell, made an ineffectual attempt to escape from Dublin castle, but he was recaptured, and more closely guarded. This again attracted the attention of government to the family; but a more important event was about to follow. O'Neill's wife was dead, and the chieftain was captivated by the beauty of Sir Henry Bagnal's sister. How they contrived to meet and to plight their vows is not known, though State Papers have sometimes revealed as romantic particulars. It has been

discovered, however, from that invaluable source of information, that Sir Henry was furious, and cursed himself and his fate that his 'bloude, which had so often been spilled in repressinge this rebellious race, should nowe be mingled with so traitorous a stocke and kindred.' He removed the lady from Newry, to the house of her sister, the wife of Sir Patrick Barnwell, near Dublin. The earl followed Miss Bagnal thither. Her brother-in-law received him courteously; and while the O'Neill engaged the family in conversation, a confidential friend rode off with the lady, who was married to O'Neill immediately after.

Hugh Roe O'Donnell made another attempt to escape at Christmas A.D. 1592, and succeeded. As soon as he had recovered from the hardships which he endured during his flight, he commenced incursions on the territories occupied by the English: but as the earl of Tyrone was anxious to prevent a premature rebellion, he induced the lord deputy to meet him at Dundalk, where he obtained a full pardon for his escape from Dublin castle, and a temporary pacification was arranged.

In 1593 he collected another army; Turlough Luineach resigned his chieftaincy to the earl of Tyrone; and Ulster became wholly the possession of its old chieftains—the O'Neill and O'Donnell. An open rebellion broke out soon after, in consequence of the exactions of two English officers on the territories of Oge O'Rourke and Maguire. Several trifling engagements took place. The earl of Tyrone was placed in a difficult position. He was obliged to join the English side, while his inclinations were with his own people. Meanwhile O'Neill played fast and loose, and did his utmost to keep up appearances with the government, offering even to prove his loyalty by single combat with Bagnal, who declined the encounter.

While these events were happening the indignation of the Irish was constantly excited by cruel executions of Catholic priests. Some were hung, some were cruelly flogged, and in several places Franciscan friars were tied together by their cords and flung down steep precipices into the sea before the exasperated and weeping multitude.

One of the most eminent of the clergy who suffered at

this period was archbishop O'Hurley, a man of more than ordinary learning, and distinguished for his refined and cultivated tastes. He was brought before the Protestant archbishop Loftus and the deputy Wallope. As he steadfastly refused to renounce his faith, he was sentenced to torture and death. He was chained to a tree, and his feet and legs were encased in long boots filled with oil, turpentine, and pitch, and then stretched upon an iron grate, under which a slow fire was kindled. This cruelty was continued until the flesh was burned to the bone. He was then cast into prison until morning, and at early dawn on Friday, May 6, 1584, he was carried out to the place now called Stephen's Green, where what remained of human life was quickly extinguished, first by putting him again to torture, and then by hanging.

As the news of this barbarity spread through the country it excited the people more and more. The government was placed in a difficult position. The prestige of O'Neill and O'Donnell was becoming every day greater. On the 7th of June 1598, the earl laid siege to the fort of the Blackwater, then commanded by captain Williams, and strongly fortified. Reinforcements were sent to the besieged from England, but they were attacked *en route* by the Irish, and lost four hundred men at Dungannon. At last the earl of Ormonde and Bagnal took the field. The former marched against the Leinster insurgents, the latter against his old enemy and brother-in-law. An engagement took place at the Yellow Ford near Armagh, where Bagnal was shot, and O'Neill obtained a signal victory.

CHAPTER XIX.

A.D. 1599 to A.D. 1642.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS: Discovery of the Gunpowder Plot—Accession of Charles I. of England—Execution of the Earl of Strafford—Commencement of the Civil War in England.

SECTION I.

Viceroyalty of Essex.—Siege of Dunboy.—Flight of the Earls.

ESSEX was now despatched in haste to Ireland with twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse,—the best-equipped force ever sent into the country. He at once issued a proclamation, offering pardon to all the insurgents who should submit, and he despatched reinforcements to the northern garrison towns, and to Wicklow and Naas. He then marched southward, not without encountering a sharp defeat from Rory O'More. He attacked the Geraldines, without much success, in Fermoy and Lismore, having on the whole lost more than he had accomplished by the expedition. An engagement took place between O'Donnell and Sir Conyers Clifford, in the pass of Balloghboy, on the 16th of August, in which Conyers was killed, and his army defeated. His body was recognised by the Irish, towards whom he had always acted honourably, and they interred the remains of their brave and noble enemy with the respect which was justly due to him.

Essex wrote to England for more troops, and his enemies were not slow to represent his incapacity, and to demand his recall: but he had not yet lost grace with his royal mistress, and his request was granted. The viceroy now marched into the northern provinces. When he arrived at

the Lagan, where it bounds Louth and Monaghan, O'Neill appeared on the opposite hill with his army, and sent the O'Hagan, his faithful friend and attendant, to demand a conference. The interview took place on the following day; and O'Neill, with chivalrous courtesy, dashed into the river on his charger, and there conversed with the English earl, while he remained on the opposite bank. It was supposed that the Irish chieftain had made a favourable impression on Essex, and that he was disposed to conciliate the Catholics. He was obliged to go to England to clear himself of these charges; and his subsequent arrest and execution would have excited more sympathy, had he been as amiable in his domestic relations as he is said to have been in his public life.

Ulster enjoyed a brief period of rest under the government of its native princes. In 1600 O'Neill proceeded southward, laying waste the lands of the English settlers, but promoting the restoration of churches and abbeys, and assisting the clergy and the native Irish in every possible way. Having lost Hugh Maguire, one of his best warriors, in an accidental engagement with St. Leger, the president of Munster, he determined to return to Ulster. A new viceroy had just arrived in Ireland, and he attempted to cut off his retreat ineffectually.

O'Neill had now obtained a position of considerable importance, and one which he appears to have used invariably for the general good. But peace could not be expected to continue long when such powerful interests were in opposition.

Attempts were made to assassinate O'Neill in 1601. Two thousand pounds was offered to anyone who would capture him alive; one thousand pounds was offered for his head; but none of his own people could be found to play the traitor even for so high a stake. The 'Sugane earl' was treacherously captured about the end of August, and was sent to London in chains, with Florence MacCarthy. But the long-expected aid from Spain had at last arrived. The fleet conveyed a force of three thousand infantry, and entered the harbour of Kinsale on September 23, under the command of Don Juan d'Aquila. It would appear as

if Spanish expeditions were not destined to succeed on Irish soil, for only part of the expedition arrived safely, and they had the misfortune to land in the worst situation, and to arrive after the war had ceased. The northern chieftains set out at once to meet their allies when informed of their arrival; and O'Donnell, with characteristic impetuosity, was the first on the road. Carew attempted to intercept him, but despaired of coming up with 'so swift-footed a general,' and left him to pursue his way unmolested.

The lord deputy was besieging Kinsale, and Carew joined him there. The siege was continued through the month of November, during which time fresh reinforcements came from Spain; and on December 21 O'Neill arrived with all his force. Unfortunately, the Spanish general had become thoroughly disgusted with the enterprise; and, although the position of the English was such that the lord deputy had serious thoughts of raising the siege, he insisted on decisive measures; and O'Neill was obliged to surrender his opinion, which was entirely against this line of action. A sortie was agreed upon for a certain night; but a youth in the Irish camp, who had been in the president's service formerly, warned him of the intended attack. This was sufficient in itself to cause the disaster which ensued. But there were other misfortunes. O'Neill and O'Donnell lost their way; and when they reached the English camp at dawn, found the soldiers under arms, and prepared for an attack. Their cavalry at once charged, and the new comers in vain struggled to maintain their ground, and a retreat which they attempted was turned into a total rout.

A thousand Irish were slain, and the prisoners were hanged without mercy. The loss on the English side was but trifling. It was a fatal blow to the Irish cause. Heavy were the hearts and bitter the thoughts of the brave chieftains on that sad night. O'Neill no longer hoped for the deliverance of his country; but the more sanguine O'Donnell proposed to proceed at once to Spain, to explain their position to king Philip. He left Ireland in a Spanish vessel three days after the battle—if battle it

can be called ; and O'Neill marched rapidly back to Ulster with Rory O'Donnell, to whom Hugh Roe had delegated the chieftaincy of Tir-Connell.

D'Aquila submitted to Mountjoy, it is said bribed by English gold, as he was placed under arrest on his return to Spain. Meanwhile, O'Sullivan Beare escaped to his famous castle of Dunboy, where he was at once besieged by Carew. This fortress was supposed to be impregnable, but the garrison consisted only of one hundred and forty-three fighting men with a few pieces of cannon. The besieging army was three thousand strong, and they were well supplied with artillery. When the castle was nearly battered down the garrison offered to submit if allowed to depart with their arms, but Carew's only reply was to hang their messenger. They then retreated to a cellar, where one of them attempted to blow up the place just as the English soldiers had succeeded in forcing an entrance. Fifty-eight of the unfortunate men were hanged on the spot, and the rest were executed soon after. One of the prisoners, Father Collins, was taken to Youghal, his native town, that he might suffer there—a most unwise proceeding, for his fate was sure to excite double sympathy, and hence to promote double disaffection, in the place where he was personally known.

War was now over for a time. The fall of Dunboy was a fatal blow to the Irish cause. O'Donnell died of grief in Spain, and O'Neill submitted to the viceroy a few days after the death of queen Elizabeth, which event was carefully concealed from him until he had made terms with Sir Garret More.

O'Neill and O'Donnell may be justly considered the last of the independent native chieftains. When the latter died in exile, and the former accepted the coronet of an English earl, the glories of the olden days of princes, who held almost regal power, had passed away for ever. The proud title of 'The O'Neill' became extinct ; his country was made shire ground ; he accepted patents, and held his broad acres 'in fee ;' sheriffs were admitted ; judges made circuits ; king's commissioners took careful note of place, person, and property ; and such a system of espionage was

established that Davies boasts, 'it was not only known how people lived, and what they do, but it is foreseen what they purpose and intend to do;' which latter species of clairvoyance seems to have been largely practised by those who were waiting until all suspicions were lulled to rest, that they might seize on the property, and imprison the persons of those whose estates they coveted.

When James the First of England and Sixth of Scotland ascended the throne of England, the Irish Catholics, always sanguine, hoped for a time of peace, if not for special compensations for past sufferings. But they were soon undeceived. King James drank 'to the eternal damnation of the Papists' solemnly at a public dinner, no doubt to convince the sceptical of his Protestantism; and he divided his time very equally between persecuting the Puritans and the Catholics, when not occupied with his pleasures or quarrelling with his Parliament. The Puritans, however, had the advantage; popular opinion in England was on their side; they were sufficiently wealthy to emigrate if they pleased: while the Catholics were not only unpopular, but hated, and utterly impoverished by repeated fines and exactions.

James's conduct on his accession was sufficiently plain. He was proclaimed in Dublin on the 28th September 1605. A part of his proclamation ran thus: 'We hereby make known to our subjects in Ireland, that no toleration shall ever be granted by us. This we do for the purpose of cutting off all hope that any other religion shall be allowed save that which is consonant to the laws and statutes of this realm.' The penal statutes were renewed, and enforced with increased severity. Several members of the corporation and some of the principal citizens of Dublin were sent to prison; similar outrages on religious liberty were perpetrated at Waterford, Ross, and Limerick. In some cases these gentlemen were only asked to attend the Protestant church once, but they nobly refused to act against their conscience even once, though it should procure them freedom from imprisonment, or even from death. The vicar-apostolic of Waterford and Lismore wrote a detailed account of the sufferings of the Irish nation for their faith at this

period to cardinal Baronius. His letter is dated 'Waterford, 1st of May 1606.' He says: 'There is scarcely a spot where Catholics can find a safe retreat. The impious soldiery by day and night pursue the defenceless priests, and mercilessly persecute them. Up to the present they have only succeeded in seizing three: one is detained in Dublin prison, another in Cork, and the third, in my opinion, is the happiest of all, triumphing in heaven with Christ our Lord; for in the excess of the fury of the soldiery, without any further trial or accusation, having expressed himself to be a priest, he was hanged upon the spot.'

He then narrates the sufferings of the Catholic laity, many of whom he says are reduced to 'extreme poverty and misery;' 'if they have any property, they are doubly persecuted by the avaricious courtiers.'

In the month of May 1603 O'Neill visited London, accompanied by lord Mountjoy and Rory O'Donnell. They were graciously received; and it was on this occasion that O'Neill renounced his ancient name for his new titles. O'Donnell was made earl of Tyrconnel at the same time. The first sheriffs appointed for Ulster were Sir Edward Pelham and Sir John Davies. The latter has left it on record, as his deliberate opinion, after many years' experience, 'that there is no nation of people under the sun that doth love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, *although it be against themselves, so that they may have the protection and benefits of the law, when, upon just cause, they do desire it.*'

A plot was now got up to entrap O'Neill and O'Donnell. This conspiracy is thus related by a learned English divine, Dr. Anderson, in his 'Royal Genealogies,' printed in London, 1736: 'Artful Cecil employed one St. Lawrence to entrap the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, the lord Delvin, and other Irish chiefs, into a sham plot, which had no evidence but his.'

The next movement was to drop an anonymous letter at the door of the council-chamber, mentioning a design, as then in contemplation, for seizing the castle of Dublin, and murdering the lord deputy. No names were mentioned,

but it was publicly stated that government had information in their possession which fixed the guilt of the conspiracy on the earl of Tyrone. His flight, which took place immediately after, was naturally considered as an acknowledgment of his guilt. It is more probable that the expatriation was prompted by his despair.

The Four Masters give a touching account of their departure, and exclaim: 'Woe to the heart that meditated, woe to the mind that conceived, woe to the council that decided on the project of their setting out on the voyage!' The exiles left Rathmullen on September 14, 1607. O'Neill had been with the lord deputy shortly before; and one cannot but suppose that he had then obtained some surmise of premeditated treachery, for he arranged his flight secretly and swiftly, pretending that he was about to visit London. O'Neill was accompanied by his countess, his three sons, O'Donnell, and other relatives. They first sailed to Normandy, where an attempt was made by the English government to arrest them, but Henry IV. would not give them up. In Rome they were received as confessors exiled for the faith, and were liberally supported by the pope and the king of Spain. They all died in a few years after their arrival, and their ashes rest in the Franciscan church of St. Peter-in-Montorio.

SECTION II. *The Plantation of Ulster.*

The Red Hand of the O'Neills had hitherto been a powerful protection to Ulster. The attempts 'to plant' there had turned out failures; but now that the chiefs were removed, the people became an easy prey. O'Dogherty, chief of Innishowen, was insulted by Sir George Paulett, in a manner which no gentleman could be expected to bear without calling his insulter to account; and the young chieftain took fearful vengeance for the rude blow which he had received from the English sheriff. He got into Culmore fort at night by stratagem, and then marched to Derry, killed Paulett, massacred the garrison, and burned the town. Some other chieftains joined him, and kept up the war until July, when O'Dogherty was killed, and his

companions-in-arms imprisoned. Sir Arthur Chichester received his property in return for his suggestions for the plantation of Ulster, of which we must now make brief mention.

There can be little doubt, from Sir Henry Docwra's own account, that O'Dogherty was purposely insulted, and goaded into rebellion. He was the last obstacle to the grand scheme, and he was disposed of. Ulster was now at the mercy of those who chose to accept grants of land; and the grants were made to the highest bidders, or to those who had paid for the favour by previous services. Sir Arthur Chichester evidently considered that he belonged to the latter class, for we find him writing at considerable length to the earl of Northampton, then a ruling member of king James's cabinet, to request that he may be appointed president of Ulster. He commences his epistle by stating how deeply he is indebted to his lordship for his comfortable and kind letters, and the praise he has given him in public and private. He then bestows an abundant meed of commendation on his justice in return. He next explains his hopes and desires. He declares that he wishes for the presidency of Ulster, 'more for the service he might there do his majesty, than for the profit he expects,'—a statement which the earl no doubt read exactly as it was intended; and he says that he only mentions his case because 'charitie beginnes with myeselfe,' which, indeed, appears to have been the view of that virtue generally taken by all planters and adventurers. He concludes with delicately informing his correspondent, that if he can advance any friend of his in any way he will be most happy to do so. This letter is dated from the 'Castle of Dublin, 7th of February 1607.' The date should read, according to the change of style, 1608. The lord deputy knew well what he was asking for. During the summer of the preceding year, he had made a careful journey through Ulster, with Sir John Davies; and Carte has well observed, that 'nobody knew the territories better to be planted;' and he might have added, that few persons had a clearer eye to their own advantage in the arrangements he made.

The plan of the plantation was agreed upon in 1609. It was the old plan which had been attempted before, though with less show of legal arrangement, but with quite the same proportion of legal iniquity. The simple object was to expel the natives, and to extirpate the Catholic religion. The six counties to be planted were Tyrone, Derry, Donegal, Armagh, Fermanagh, and Cavan. These were parcelled out into portions varying from two thousand to four thousand acres, and the planters were obliged to build bawns and castles.

Chichester now proposed to call a Parliament. The plantation of Ulster had removed some difficulties in the way of its accomplishment. The Protestant university of Dublin had obtained three thousand acres there, and four hundred thousand acres of tillage land had been partitioned out between English and Scotch proprietors. It was expressly stipulated that their tenants should be English or Scotch, and Protestants; the Catholic owners of the land were, in some cases, as a special favour, permitted to remain, if they took the oath of supremacy, if they worked well for their masters, and if they paid double the rent fixed for the others. Sixty thousand acres in Dublin and Waterford, and three hundred and eighty-five thousand acres in Westmeath, Longford, King's County, Queen's County, and Leitrim, had been portioned out in a similar manner. A Presbyterian minister, whose father was one of the planters, thus describes the men who came to establish English rule, and root out popery: 'From Scotland came many, and from England not a few; yet all of them generally the scum of both nations, who, from debt, or making and fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter, came hither, hoping to be without fear of man's justice, in a land where there was nothing or but little as yet of the fear of God. . . . Most of the people were all void of godliness. . . . On all hands atheism increased, and disregard of God; iniquity abounds, with contention, fighting, murder, and adultery.'

It was with such persons as these that the lower house was filled. The upper house was composed of the Protestant bishops and English aristocracy, who were, of course,

unanimous in their views. Chichester obtained ample powers to arrange the lower house. Forty new boroughs were formed, many of them consisting merely of a few scattered houses; some of them were not incorporated until after the writs were issued. The Catholics were taken by surprise, as no notice had been given either of the Parliament or the laws intended to be enacted. Six Catholic lords of the Pale remonstrated with the king, but he treated them with the utmost contempt. The house assembled; there was a struggle for the speaker's chair. The Catholic party proposed Sir John Everard, who had just resigned his position as justice of the King's Bench sooner than take the oath of supremacy; the court party insisted on having Sir John Davies. The Catholics protested, and sent a deputation to James, who first lectured them to show his learning, and then imprisoned them to show his power. Some kind of compromise was eventually effected. A severe penal law was withdrawn; a large subsidy was voted. In truth, the Irish party acted boldly, considering their peculiar circumstances, for one and all refused to enter the old cathedral, which their forefathers had erected, when Protestant service was read therein on the day of the opening of Parliament; and even lord Barry retired when he laid the sword of state before the lord deputy. We may excuse them for submitting to the attainder of O'Neill and O'Donnell, for there were few national members who had not withdrawn before the vote was passed.

Chichester retired from the government of Ireland in 1616. In 1617 a proclamation was issued for the expulsion of the Catholic clergy, and the city of Waterford was deprived of its charter in consequence of the spirited opposition which its corporation offered to the oath of spiritual supremacy. In 1622 viscount Falkland came over as deputy, and Usher, who was at heart a Puritan, preached a violent sermon before him, in which he suggested a very literal application of the text 'He beareth not the sword in vain.'

On the accession of Charles I., in 1625, it was so generally supposed he would favour the Catholic cause, that the earliest act of the new Parliament in London was to vote

a petition, begging the king to enforce the laws against recusants and popish priests. The viceroy, lord Falkland, advised the Irish Catholics to propitiate him with a voluntary subsidy. They offered the enormous sum of 120,000*l.*, to be paid in three annual instalments, and in return he promised them certain 'graces.' The contract was ratified by royal proclamation, in which the concessions were accompanied by a promise that a Parliament should be held to confirm them. The first instalment of the money was paid, and the Irish agents returned home to find themselves cruelly deceived and basely cheated. Falkland was recalled by the Puritan party, on suspicion of favouring the Catholics; viscount Ely and the earl of Cork were appointed lords justices; and a reign of terror was at once commenced.

Wentworth assembled a Parliament in July 1634, the year after his arrival in Ireland. Its subserviency was provided for by having a number of persons elected who were in the pay of the crown as military officers. The 'graces' were asked for, and the lord deputy declared they should be granted if the supply was readily voted. 'Surely,' he said, 'so great a meanness cannot enter your hearts as once to suspect his majesty's gracious regards of you, and performance with you, when you affix yourself upon his grace.' This speech so took the hearts of the people, that all were ready to grant all that might be demanded; and six subsidies of 50,000*l.* each were voted, though Wentworth only expected 30,000*l.* In the meanwhile neither Wentworth nor the king had the slightest idea of granting the 'graces;' and the atrocious duplicity and incomparable 'meanness' of the king is placed eternally on record, in his own letter to his favourite, in which he thanks him 'for keeping off the envy [odium] of a necessary negative from me, of those unreasonable graces that people expected from me.' Wentworth himself describes how two judges and Sir John Radcliffe assisted him in the plan, and how a positive refusal was made to recommend the passing of the 'graces' into law at the next session.

One of the 'graces' was to make sixty years of undisputed possession of property a bar to the claims of the

crown; and certainly if there ever was a country where such a demand was necessary and reasonable, it was surely Ireland. There had been so many plantations, it was hard for anything to grow; and so many settlements, it was hard for anything to be settled. Each new monarch, since the first invasion of the country by Henry II., had his favourites to provide for and his friends to oblige. The island across the sea was considered 'no man's land,' as the original inhabitants were never taken into account, and were simply ignored, unless, indeed, when they made their presence very evident by open resistance to this wholesale robbery. It was no wonder, then, that this 'grace' should be specially solicited. It was one in which the last English settler in Ulster had quite as great an interest as the oldest Celt in Connemara. The Burkes and the Geraldines had suffered almost as much from the rapacity of their own countrymen as the natives, on whom their ancestors had inflicted such cruel wrongs. No man's property was safe in Ireland, for the tenure was depending on the royal will; and the caprices of the Tudors were supplemented by the necessities of the Stuarts.

But the 'grace' was refused, although, probably, there was many a recent colonist who would have willingly given one-half of his plantation to have secured the other to his descendants. The reason of the refusal was soon apparent. As soon as Parliament was dissolved, a commission of 'defective titles' was issued for Connaught. Ulster had been settled, Leinster had been settled, Munster had been settled; there remained only Connaught, hitherto so inaccessible, now, with advancing knowledge of the art of war, and new means of carrying out that art, doomed to the scourge of desolation.

The process was extremely simple. The lawyers were set to work to hunt out old claims for the crown; and, as Wentworth had determined to invalidate the title to every estate in Connaught, they had abundant occupation. Roscommon was selected for a commencement. The sheriffs were directed to select jurors who would find for the crown. The jurors were made clearly to understand what was expected from them, and what the consequences would be

if they were 'contumacious.' The object of the crown was, of course, the general good of the country. The people of Connaught were to be civilised and enriched; but, in order to carry out this very desirable arrangement, the present proprietors were to be replaced by new landlords, and the country was to be placed entirely at the disposal of the sovereign.

It was now discovered that the lands and lordships of De Burgo, adjacent to the castle of Athlone, and, in fact, the whole remaining province, belonged to the crown. It would be useless here to give details of the special pleading on which this statement was founded; it is an illustration of what has been observed before, that the tenure of the English settler was quite as uncertain as the tenure of the Celt. The jury found for the king; and, as a reward, the foreman, Sir Lucas Dillon, was graciously permitted to retain a portion of his own lands. Lowther, chief justice of the Common Pleas, got four shillings in the pound of the first year's rent raised under the commission of 'defective titles.' The juries of Mayo and Sligo were equally complacent; but there was stern resistance made in Galway, and stern reprisals were made for the resistance. The jurors were fined 4,000*l.* each and were imprisoned, and their estates seized until that sum was paid. The sheriff was fined 1,000*l.*, and, being unable to pay that sum, he died in prison.

The property of the earl of Ormonde was next attacked, but he made a prudent compromise, and was too powerful to be resisted. A Court of Wards was now established to have all heirs to estates brought up in the Protestant religion; and a High Commission Court was instituted, which rivalled the exactions of the English Star Chamber.

In 1641 Wentworth fell a victim himself to the Puritan interest, and a new insurrection was formed in Ireland soon after his execution, headed by Sir Phelim O'Neill, and assisted by the Irish who had been exiled to the Continent after the flight of the earls. O'Neill assumed the title of 'Lord General of the Catholic army in Ulster;' and this was, in fact, the inauguration of the celebrated Confederation of Kilkenny.

CHAPTER XX.

A.D. 1642 to A.D. 1689.

THE CONFEDERATION OF KILKENNY.—THE BANISHMENT TO CONNAUGHT.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS: Execution of Charles I.—Protectorate of Cromwell—Charles X. king of Sweden—Capture of Dunkirk—Restoration of Charles II.—Titus Oates's plot—The names of Whig and Tory applied to political parties—English revolution—Landing of William of Orange at Torbay, and flight of James II.

SECTION I. *The Confederation of Kilkenny.*

ON March 22, 1641, the archbishop of Armagh convened a provincial synod at Kells, which pronounced the war undertaken by the Catholics of Ireland lawful and pious, but at the same time denounced murders and usurpations. Arrangements were then made for a national synod to be held at Kilkenny the following year. This synod met at Kilkenny, on May 10, 1642. It was attended by the archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam, and the bishops of Ossory, Elphin, Waterford and Lismore, Kildare, Clonfert, and Down and Connor. Proctors attended for the archbishop of Dublin, and for the bishops of Limerick, Emly, and Killaloe. There were present, also, sixteen other dignitaries and heads of religious orders. They issued a manifesto explaining their conduct, and, forming a provisional government, concluded their labours, after three days spent in careful deliberation.

Owen Roe O'Neill and Colonel Preston arrived in Ireland in July 1642, accompanied by a hundred officers, and well supplied with arms and ammunition. Sir Phelim O'Neill

went at once to meet O'Neill, and resigned the command of the army ; and all promised fairly for the national cause.

The Scots, who had kept up a war of their own for some time, against both the king and the Catholics, were wasting Down and Antrim ; and O'Neill was likely to need all his military skill and all his political wisdom in the position in which he was placed.

Preston had landed in Wexford, and brought a still larger force ; while all the brave expatriated Irishmen in foreign service hastened home the moment there appeared a hope that they could strike a blow with some effect for the freedom of their native land.

The General Assembly projected by the national synod in Kilkenny held its first meeting on October 14, 1642,—eleven spiritual and fourteen temporal peers, with 226 commoners, representing the Catholic population of Ireland. The house used was in the market-place. The peers and commoners sat together ; but a private room was allotted for the lords to consult in. Dr. Patrick Darcy, an eminent lawyer, represented the chancellor and the judges. Mr. Nicholas Plunket was chosen as speaker ; the Rev. Thomas O'Quirk, a learned Dominican friar, was appointed chaplain to both houses.

The Assembly at once declared that they met as a provisional government, and not as a Parliament. The preliminary arrangements occupied them until the 1st of November. From the 1st until the 4th, the committee were engaged in drawing up a form for the confederate government ; on the 4th it was sanctioned by the two houses. Magna Charta, and the common and statute law of England, in all points not contrary to the Catholic religion, or inconsistent with the liberty of Ireland, were made the basis of the new government. The administrative authority was vested in a supreme council, which was then chosen, and of which Lord Mountgarret was elected president.

There were six members elected for each province. For Leinster, the archbishop of Dublin, lords Gormanstown and Mountgarret, Nicholas Plunket, Richard Belling, and James Cusack. For Ulster, the archbishop of Armagh,

the bishop of Down, Philip O'Reilly, colonel MacMahon, Heber Magennis, and Turlough O'Neill. For Munster, viscount Roche, Sir Daniel O'Brien, Edmund FitzMaurice, Dr. Fennell, Robert Lambert, and George Comyn. For Connaught, the archbishop of Tuam, viscount Mayo, the bishop of Clonfert, Sir Lucas Dillon, Geoffrey Browne, and Patrick Darcy. The earl of Castlehaven, who had just escaped from his imprisonment in Dublin, was added as a twenty-fifth member. Generals were appointed to take the command of the forces—Owen Roe O'Neill, for Ulster; Preston, for Leinster; Barry, for Munster; and Burke, for Connaught. A seal was made, a printing-press set up, and a mint established. Money was coined and levied for the necessary expenses; and a levy of thirty-one thousand seven hundred men was prepared to be drilled by the new officers. Envoys were sent to solicit assistance from the Catholic courts of Europe; and the famous and learned Franciscan, father Luke Wadding, applied himself to the cause with unremitting earnestness. Father John Talbot was employed in a similar manner in Spain.

The Assembly broke up on January 9, 1643, after sending a remonstrance to the king, declaring their loyalty and explaining their grievances.

Charles sent the marquis of Ormonde and some other noblemen to make terms with the Confederates. But even then they were divided into two parties,—the descendants of the English settlers, who were willing to have peace on almost any terms; and the native Irish lords and chiefs, anxious for a complete freedom from English rule.

Ormonde was well aware of the men with whom, and the opinions with which, he had to deal, and he acted accordingly. In the various engagements which occurred, the Irish were on the whole successful. They had gained an important victory near Fermoy, principally through the headlong valour of a troop of mere boys, who dashed down with wild impetuosity on the English, and showed what metal there was still left in the country. Envoys were arriving from foreign courts, and Urban VIII. had sent father Scarampi with indulgences and a purse of thirty thousand dollars, collected by father Wadding. It was,

therefore, most important that the movement should be checked in some way; and, as it could not be suppressed by force, it was suppressed by diplomacy.

On September 15, 1643, a cessation of arms for one year was agreed upon. The Irish observed the truce honourably. The Puritan party professed to regard the cessation of hostilities as a crime, and therefore did not consider themselves bound to observe it. Charles was now besieged with petitions and counter-petitions. The Confederates asked for liberty of conscience; the Puritans demanded a stern enforcement of the penal laws. Complaints were made on both sides of the infringement of the cessation; but Monroe was the chief offender; and Owen O'Neill was summoned to consult with the supreme council at Kilkenny. Lord Castlehaven, who was utterly incompetent for such an appointment, was given the command of the army; and O'Neill, though he felt hurt at the unjust preference, submitted generously.

In August 1644, the cessation was again renewed by the General Assembly until December, and subsequently for a longer period. Thus precious time, and, what was still more precious, the fresh energies and interests of the Confederates, were hopelessly lost. The king's generals, or rather it should be said the Parliamentary officers, observed or held these engagements at their convenience, and made treaties of their own: thus Inchiquin and Purcell made a truce between themselves in the south. As the king's affairs became daily more complicated, and his position more perilous, he saw the necessity for peace with his Irish subjects, and for allying himself with them, if possible. Ormonde received ample powers to grant every concession, but it was too late for the Irish to be of any assistance to the unhappy monarch. A compact was, however, made, which proved equally useless to both parties. The Irish were promised liberty of conscience; they, in their turn, promised to send ten thousand armed men, under the command of lord Herbert, to assist the king in England.

In the meantime Belling, the secretary of the supreme council, was sent to Rome, and presented to Innocent X., by father Wadding, as the envoy of the Confederate

Catholics, in February 1645. On hearing his report, the pope sent John Baptist Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo, to Ireland as nuncio-extraordinary. This prelate set out immediately; and, after some detention at St. Germain's, for the purpose of conferring with the English queen, who had taken refuge there, he purchased the frigate of *San Pietro* at Rochelle, stored it with arms and ammunition, and, after some escapes from the Parliamentary cruisers, landed safely in Kenmare bay, on October 21, 1645. He was soon surrounded and welcomed by the peasantry; and after celebrating mass in a poor hut, he at once proceeded to Limerick. Here he celebrated the obsequies of the archbishop of Tuam, and then passed on to Kilkenny. He entered the old city in state, attended by the clergy. At the entrance to the cathedral he was met by the bishop of Ossory, who was unable to walk in the procession. When the *Te Deum* had been sung, he was received in the castle by the General Assembly, and addressed them in Latin. After this he returned to the residence prepared for him.

This prelate was undoubtedly a man of considerable ability and remarkable penetration. He soon discerned the difficulties of his position. The following extract from his private report to the Holy See will show how thoroughly he was master of the situation in a diplomatic point of view: 'From time immemorial two adverse parties have always existed among the Catholics of Ireland. The first are called the "old Irish." They are most numerous in Ulster, where they seem to have their head-quarters; for even the earl of Tyrone placed himself at their head, and maintained a protracted war against Elizabeth. The second may be called the "old English"—a race introduced into Ireland in the reign of Henry II., the fifth king in succession from William the Conqueror; so called to distinguish them from the "new English," who have come into the kingdom along with the modern heresy. These parties are opposed to each other principally on the following grounds: the old Irish, entertaining a great aversion for heresy, are also averse to the dominion of England, and have refused, generally speaking, to accept the investiture of church property offered to them since the apostacy of the kings of

England from the Church. The others, on the contrary, enriched with the spoils of the monasteries, and thus bound to the king by obligation, no less than by interest, neither seek nor desire anything but the exaltation of the crown, esteem no laws but those of the realm, are thoroughly English in their feelings, and, from their constant familiarity with heretics, are less jealous of differences of religion.'

The nuncio then goes on to state how even the military command was divided between these two parties—O'Neill belonging to the old Irish interest, and Preston to the new. He also mentions the manner in which this difference of feeling extended to the lower classes, and particularly to those who served in the army.

The Confederates now began to be distinguished into two parties, as Nuncionists and Ormondists. Two sets of negotiations were carried on, openly with Ormonde, and secretly with Glamorgan. The nuncio, from the first, apprehended the treachery of Charles, and events proved the correctness of his forebodings. Glamorgan produced his credentials, dated April 30, 1645, in which the king promised to ratify whatever terms he might make; and he further promised, that the Irish soldiers, whose assistance he demanded, should be brought back to their own shores, if these arrangements were not complied with by his master. Meanwhile a copy of this secret treaty was discovered on the archbishop of Tuam, who had been killed at Sligo. It was used as an accusation against the king. Glamorgan was arrested in Dublin, and the whole scheme was defeated.

The General Assembly met in Kilkenny in January 1646, and demanded the release of Glamorgan. He was bailed out; but the king disowned the commission, as Rinuccini had expected, and proved himself thereby equally a traitor to his Catholic and Protestant subjects. Ormonde took care to foment the division between the Confederate party, and succeeded so well that a middle party was formed, who signed a treaty consisting of thirty articles. This document only provided for the religious part of the question, that Roman Catholics should not be bound to take the oath of supremacy. An act of oblivion was passed, and the Catholics were to continue to hold their possessions until a

settlement could be made by act of Parliament. Even in a political point of view this treaty was a failure; and one would have thought that Irish chieftains and Anglo-Irish nobles had known enough of acts of Parliaments to have prevented them from confiding their hopes to such an uncertain future.

The division of the command in the Confederate army had been productive of most disastrous consequences. The rivalry between O'Neill, Preston, and Owen Roe increased the complication; but the nuncio managed to reconcile the two O'Neills, and active preparations were made by Owen Roe for his famous northern campaign. The Irish troops intended for Charles had remained in their own country; the unfortunate monarch had committed his last fatal error by confiding himself to his Scotch subjects, who sold him to his own people for 400,000*l.* Ormonde now refused to publish the treaty which had been just concluded, or even to enforce its observance by Monroe, although the Confederates had given him 3,000*l.* to get up an expedition for that purpose.

In the beginning of June A.D. 1646, Owen Roe O'Neill marched against Monroe, with five thousand foot and five hundred horse. Monroe received notice of his approach; and although his force was far superior to O'Neill's, he sent for reinforcements of cavalry from his brother, colonel George Monroe, who was stationed at Coleraine. But the Irish forces advanced more quickly than he expected; and on the 4th of June they had crossed the Blackwater, and encamped at Benburb. Here, on the 5th of June A.D. 1646, he won a victory, which is considered famous in the annals of Irish warfare. For a time the party who adhered to the nuncio kept the upper hand. But their triumph was of brief continuance. The spirit of disunion, which seems an essential characteristic of the Celt, soon confounded the best-laid plans. The generals of the Confederate army could not agree; Preston was even suspected of treachery. The Puritans were every day growing stronger, and more united, while the Confederated Catholics were as steadily losing power and influence. O'Neill seemed to be the only prop of a falling cause. One party were trying to make

terms with Ormonde. Rinuccini, as a last resource, had recourse to ecclesiastical intervention, and excommunicated those who joined this party. The treaty was, however, made and signed, but the ink was scarcely dry when the execution of Charles I. made it absolutely useless. Rinuccini embarked in the *San Pietro* once more, and returned to Italy February 23, 1649.

SECTION II. *Cromwell's Campaigns in Ireland.*

Charles II. was at the Hague, and, with the usual fatuity of a Stuart, equally unwilling to risk a visit to Ireland or a bold appeal to his English subjects.

Cromwell had been made lieutenant-general of the English army in Ireland, but as yet he had been unable to take the command in person. His position was precarious; and he wished to secure his influence still more firmly in his own country, before he attempted the conquest of another. He had succeeded so far in the accomplishment of his plans, that his departure and his journey to Bristol were undertaken in royal style. He left the metropolis early in June, in a coach drawn by six gallant Flanders mares, and concluded his progress at Milford haven, where he embarked, reaching Ireland on the 14th of August, 1649. He was attended by some of the most famous of the Parliamentary generals—his son, Henry, the future lord deputy; Monck, Blake, Ireton, Waller, Ludlow, and others. He brought with him, for the propagation of the Gospel and the Commonwealth, 200,000*l.* in money, eight regiments of foot, six of horse, several troops of dragoons, a large supply of Bibles, and a corresponding provision of ammunition and scythes. The Bibles were to be distributed amongst his soldiers, and to be given to the unfortunate natives, who could not understand a word of their contents. The scythes and sickles were to deprive them of all means of living, and to preach a ghastly commentary on the conduct of the men who wished to convert them to the new Gospel, which certainly was not one of peace. Cromwell now issued two proclamations: one against intemperance, for he knew well the work that was before him, and he could

not afford to have a single drunken soldier in his camp. The other proclamation prohibited plundering the country people: it was scarcely less prudent. His soldiers might any day become his masters, if they were not kept under strict control; and there are few things which so effectually lessen military discipline as permission to plunder: he also wished to encourage the country people to bring in provisions. His arrangements all succeeded.

Ormonde had garrisoned Drogheda with three thousand of his choicest troops. They were partly English, and were commanded by a brave loyalist, Sir Arthur Aston. This was really the most important town in Ireland; and Cromwell, whose skill as a military general cannot be disputed, at once determined to lay siege to it. After a brave resistance its defenders yielded on a promise of quarter; but the quarter was not given, and five days were spent in butchering men, women, and children, in cold blood. Cromwell's theory was, that extermination was the most merciful policy, and there can be no doubt that he carried it out. His savage butcheries had their effect, and even to the present day his name is uttered with curses and imprecations by the lower classes. His next massacre was perpetrated at Wexford; the people made what he termed 'a stiff resistance.' The garrison amounted to about three thousand men, under the command of colonel Sinnott, a brave loyalist. After some correspondence on both sides, a conference took place between four of the royalists and Cromwell, at which he contrived to bribe captain Stafford, the governor of the castle. The conditions asked, preparatory to surrender, were liberty of conscience, and permission to withdraw in safety, and with military honours. Cromwell's idea of liberty of conscience was as peculiar as his idea of honour. He wrote to the governor of Ross to say that he would not 'meddle with any man's conscience;' but adds: 'If by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to tell you now, where the Parliament of England have power, that will not be allowed of;' which, in plain English, meant that he professed liberty of conscience, but allowed it only to such as agreed with

himself. Of his estimation of honour, his dealings at Wexford afford a fair sample. As soon as he had found that Stafford could be bribed, he denounced the proposals of the garrison as abominable and impudent. The traitor opened the castle gates, and the parliamentary troops marched in. The massacre of Drogheda was renewed with all its horrors, and the treacherous general held in his hand all the time the formal offer of surrender which had been made by the townspeople and his own reply. He informs the Parliament that he did not intend to destroy the town, but his own letter reveals his treachery; and he congratulates his correspondents on the 'unexpected providence' which had befallen them. Soon after the Parliament recalled Cromwell to England, where the royalists had also to be crushed and, if possible, exterminated. He left the command of the army in Ireland to his son-in-law Ireton.

Charles II. landed in Scotland on June 28, 1650, and soon after signed the Covenant, and a declaration in which he stated the peace with Ireland to be null and void, adding with equal untruthfulness and meanness, that 'he was convinced in his conscience of the sinfulness and unlawfulness of it, and of allowing them [the Catholics] the liberty of the popish religion; for which he did from his heart desire to be deeply humbled before the Lord.' Ormonde declared, what was probably true, that the king had been obliged to make these statements, and that they meant nothing; but neither his protestations nor his diplomacy could save him from general contempt; and having appointed the marquis of Clanrickarde to administer the government of Ireland for the king, he left the country accompanied by some of the leading royalists, and, after a stormy passage, arrived at St. Malo, in Brittany, early in the year 1651. The Irish again sacrificed their interests to their loyalty, and refused favourable terms offered to them by the parliamentary party; they even attempted to mortgage the town of Galway, to obtain money for the royal cause, and an agreement was entered into with the duke of Lorraine for this purpose; but the disasters of the battle of Worcester, and the triumphs of the republican faction, soon deprived them of every hope.

The siege of Limerick by Ireton is the next event of general interest in the history of the civil war in Ireland. The entry into the devoted city was accomplished by the treachery of the governor. Twenty-four persons were exempt from quarter, and amongst these were several priests and a Dominican prelate of considerable reputation, Dr. Jerome O'Brien. It is said that as he was being led to execution he turned to Ireton and commanded him to answer at God's judgment-seat for his cruelties. It is certain that Ireton died eight days after, raving wildly of the men whom he had executed, November 26, 1651.

Ludlow now took the command, and marched to assist Coote, who was besieging Galway. This town surrendered on the 12th of May 1652. The few Irish officers who still held out against the Parliament made the best terms they could for themselves individually; and there was a brief peace, the precursor of yet more terrible storms.

Fearful as are the records given by Spenser of 1580, when neither the lowing of a cow nor the voice of a herdsman could be heard from Dunquin in Kerry to Cashel in Munster, there seems to have been a deeper depth of misery after Cromwell's massacres. In 1653 the English themselves were nearly starving, even in Dublin; and cattle had to be imported from Wales. There was no tillage, and a licence was required to kill lamb. The Irish had fled into the mountains, the only refuge left to them now; and the Parliamentary officers were obliged to issue proclamations inviting their return, and promising them safety and protection. But the grand object of the revolutionary party was still to carry out the wild scheme of unpeopling Ireland of the Irish, and planting it anew with English,—a scheme which had been so often attempted and had so signally failed, that one marvels how it could again have been brought forward. Still there were always adventurers ready to fight for other men's lands, and subjects who might be troublesome at home, whom it was found desirable to occupy in some way abroad. But a grand effort was made now to get rid of as many Irishmen as possible in a peaceable manner. The valour of the Irish soldier was well known abroad; and agents from the king of Spain,

the king of Poland, and the prince de Condé were contending for those brave fellows, who were treated like slaves in their native land, and then, if they dared to resist, branded with the foul name of rebels. If a keen had rung out loud and long when O'Donnell left his native land never to return, well might it ring out now yet more wildly. In May 1652 Don Ricardo White shipped seven thousand men for the king of Spain; in September, colonel Mayo collected three thousand more; lord Muskerry took five thousand to Poland; and, in 1654, colonel Dwyer went to serve the prince de Condé with three thousand five hundred men. Other officers looked up the men who had served under them, and expatriated themselves in smaller parties; so that, between 1651 and 1654, thirty-four thousand Irishmen had left their native land; and few, indeed, ever returned to its desolate shores.

But their lot was merciful compared with the fate of those who still remained. In 1653 Ireland was considered sufficiently depopulated by war and emigration to admit of a commencement of the grand planting. The country was again portioned out; again the ruling powers selected the best portion of the land for themselves and their favourites; again the religion of the country was reformed, and Protestant prelates were condemned as loudly, though they were not hunted as unmercifully, as popish priests; again the wild and lawless adventurer was sent to eject the old proprietor, and the wildest and most merciless scheme that was ever devised for the destruction of a nation was now put into force. If we had not ample documentary evidence, in the shape of acts of Parliament and proclamations, it would be almost impossible to credit the details of the banishment to Connaught.

SECTION III. *The Banishment to Connaught.*

On the 26th of September 1653 all the property of the Irish people was declared to belong to the English army and adventurers, 'and it was announced that the Parliament had assigned Connaught for the habitation of the Irish nation, whither they must transplant, with their wives, and

daughters, and children, before the 1st of May following, under the penalty of death, if found on this side of the Shannon after that day.' It must not be supposed that this death penalty was a mere threat; it was put into execution with inexorable severity. In order that no one might plead ignorance, an official proclamation was made in the preamble thus: 'The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, having, by an act lately passed (entitled an Act for the Settling of Ireland), declared that it is not their intention to extirpate this whole nation . . . it is ordered that the governor and commissioners of revenue . . . do cause the said act of Parliament, with this present declaration, to be published and proclaimed in their respective precincts, by beat of drum and sound of trumpet, on some market-day within ten days after the same shall come unto them within their respective precincts.'

Any man, woman, or child who had disobeyed this order, no matter from what cause, could be instantly executed in any way, by any of these soldiers or adventurers, without judge, jury, or trial. It was, in fact, constituting a special commission for the new comers to murder all the old inhabitants.

Connaught was selected for two reasons: first, because it was the most wasted province of Ireland; and secondly, because it could be, and, in fact, was, most easily converted into a national prison, by erecting a *cordon militaire* across the country, from sea to sea. To make the imprisonment more complete, a belt four miles wide, commencing one mile to the west of Sligo, and thence running along the coast and the Shannon, was to be given to the soldiery to plant. Thus, any Irishman who attempted to escape would be sure of instant capture and execution.

The government, as it has been already remarked, reserved the best part of the land for themselves. They secured the towns, church-lands, and tithes, and abolished the Established Church, with all its officers, which had been so recently declared the religion of the country. A 'Church of Christ' was now the established religion, and a Mr. Thomas Hicks was approved by the 'Church of Christ,' meeting at Chichester House, as one fully qualified to preach

and dispense the Gospel as often as the Lord should enable him, and in such places as the Lord should make his ministry most effectual. The Parliament also reserved for themselves the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Cork; and from these lands and the church property they were to enrich themselves, and, with what they could spare, to reward the leading regicides and rebels. The adventurers were next provided for. They claimed 360,000*l*. This was divided into three lots, to be paid in lands in Munster, Leinster, and Ulster. All these were to be drawn by lot; and a lottery was held at Grocers' Hall, London, which commenced at eight o'clock in the morning, on the 20th of July 1653, at which time and place men who professed the advancement of the Christian religion to be the business of their lives, openly and flagrantly violated the most solemn and explicit commands of that very belief which they declared themselves so zealous in upholding. The soldiers and officers were to obtain whatever was left after the adventurers had been satisfied.

A book was written by a Franciscan father, called *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica, sive Planctus Universalis totius Cleri et Populi Regni Hiberniæ*, in which the writer states that he heard a great Protestant statesman give three reasons why this transplantation was confined to the gentry, and why the poor, who had not been either transported or hanged, were allowed to remain: (1) because the English wanted them to till the ground; (2) they hoped they would become Protestants when deprived of their priests; (3) because the settlers required servants, or else they should have worked for themselves.

But the fatal day at length arrived, and those who had dared to linger, or to hope that so cruel a sentence would not be finally executed, were at once undeceived. The commissioners had been in trouble all the winter: the people who were to be driven out of their farms refused to sow for those who were to succeed them; and the very plotters of the iniquity began to tremble for the consequences in which they might be themselves involved.

Remonstrances and complaints were sent to the faction who governed England, but all was in vain. The principal

petitioners were the descendants of the English nobles; they were now, by a just retribution, suffering themselves the very miseries which they had so ruthlessly inflicted on the native Irish. The petitioners, says Mr. Prendergast, were the noble and the wealthy, men of ancient English blood, descendants of the invaders—the FitzGerald, the Batlers, the Plunkets, the Barnwalls, Dillons, Cheevers, Cusacks, names found appended to various schemes for extirpating or transplanting the Irish, after the subduing of lord Thomas FitzGerald's rebellion in 1535—who were now to transplant as Irish. The native Irish were too poor to pay scriveners and messengers to the Council, and their sorrows were unheard; though under their rough coats beat hearts that felt as great pangs at being driven from their native homes as the highest in the land.

One of these English families demands special mention. Edmund Spenser's grandson was now commanded to transplant, as though he too had been 'mere Irish;' and the very estate near Fermoy, which had been confiscated from the FitzGerald seventy years before, and which the poet had obtained thus fraudulently, was now confiscated anew, and granted to Cromwell's soldiers. William Spenser protested; he pleaded his grandfather's name, he pleaded his grandfather's services, especially the odium he had incurred amongst the Irish by the way in which he had written of them; and lastly, William Spenser declares of himself that he had utterly renounced popery since he came to years of discretion. But even Cromwell's interference could not save him; the soldiers were determined to have his lands, and they had them.

The manner in which difficulties were met is thus recorded in a letter which was written for publication in London:—

‘ATHY, March 4, 1664-5.

‘I have only to acquaint you that the time prescribed for the transplantation of the Irish proprietors, and those that have been in arms and abettors of the rebellion, being near at hand, the officers are resolved to fill the gaols and to seize them; by which this bloody people will know that they [the officers] are not degenerated from English prin-

ciples ; though I presume we shall be very tender of hanging any except leading men ; yet we shall make no scruple of sending them to the West Indies, where they will serve for planters, and help to plant the plantation that general Venables, it is hoped, hath reduced.'

So examples were made. Mr. Edward Hetherington was hanged in Dublin, on April 3, 1655, with placards on his breast and back, on which was written, 'For not transplanting;' and at the summer assizes of 1658, hundreds were condemned to death for the same cause, but were eventually sent as slaves to Barbadoes. The miseries of those who did transplant was scarcely less than those of the persons who were condemned to slavery. Some committed suicide, some went mad, all were reduced to the direst distress. The nobles of the land were as cruelly treated and as much distrusted as the poorest peasant. The very men who had laid down their arms, and signed articles of peace at Kilkenny, were not spared; and the excuse offered was, that the act of Parliament overrode the articles.

Sir William Petty states that six thousand boys and girls were sent as slaves to the West Indies. Even girls of noble birth were subjected to this cruel fate, for we find that when Daniel Conway, a gentleman of property in Clare, was banished the country for harbouring a priest by colonel Ingolsby, Mr. Conway died of destitution soon after, and three of his daughters, young and beautiful girls, were transported to Barbadoes as slaves.

A court was established for the punishment of 'rebels and malignants;' the former consisting of persons who refused to surrender their houses and lands, and the latter being those who would not act contrary to their conscientious convictions in religious matters. These courts were called 'Cromwell's Slaughter-houses.' Donnellan, who had acted as solicitor to the regicides, at the trial of Charles I., held the first court at Kilkenny, October 4, 1652.

As the majority of the nation had now been disposed of, either by banishment, transportation, or hanging, the government had time to turn their attention to other

affairs. The desolation of the country was such, that the smoke of a fire, or the sign of a habitation, was considered a rare phenomenon. In consequence of this depopulation, wild beasts had multiplied on the lands, and three 'beasts' were especially noted for destruction. In the Parliament held at Westminster in 1657, Major Morgan, member for the county Wicklow, enumerated these beasts thus: 'We have three beasts to destroy that lay burdens upon us. The first is the wolf, on whom we lay 5*l.* a head if a dog, and 10*l.* if a bitch. The second beast is a priest, on whose head we lay 10*l.*; if he be eminent, more. The third beast is a Tory, on whose head, if he be a public Tory, we lay 20*l.*; and forty shillings on a private Tory.'

Wolves had increased so rapidly, that the officers who left Ireland for Spain, in 1652, were forbidden to take their dogs with them, and were thus deprived of the pleasure and the pride (for Irish dogs were famous) of this consolation in their exile. Public hunts were ordered, and every effort made to keep down beasts of prey. The number of wolves may be estimated from the fact that some lands for which high rent had always been obtained, were now let for a stipulated number of wolves' heads per annum. The wolves were, however, more easily got rid of than the priests. There were parts of the country where it was incomparably more difficult to hunt out a priest than a wolf; so the government gave notice, on January 6, 1653, that all priests and friars who were willing to transport themselves, should have liberty to do so for twenty days. But the priests and friars had no idea of leaving the country. Many came to it from the continental colleges, where they had been educated—for home education was impossible—full of a burning zeal for martyrdom, and having fully counted the cost of the mission which they had undertaken. The people also were invariably true to them. Long lists of the priests who were captured and executed remain, but there is not a single Irish name in the catalogue of the men by whom they were betrayed.

The number of secular priests who were victims to this persecution cannot be correctly estimated. The religious orders, who were in the habit of keeping an accurate

chronicle of the entrance and decease of each member, furnish fuller details. An official record, drawn up in 1656, gives the name of thirty Franciscans who had suffered for the faith; and this was before the more severe search had commenced. The martyrdom of a similar number of Dominicans is recorded almost under the same date; and Dr. Burgat states that more than three hundred of the clergy were put to death by the sword or on the scaffold, while more than one thousand were sent into exile.

The third 'beast' was the Tory. The Tories were, in fact, the sons of men of good families, who had been banished to Connaught. They could scarcely be expected to have much respect for law when they had such practical proof of the way in which it was administered in Ireland. They were, in fact, driven to desperation. Strangers had taken forcible possession of their lands and their property, and they could scarcely be expected to consider it an act of theft if they recovered any portion of them by stealth, or murder if they assassinated the new proprietors. Young men, whose fathers had landed estates of 2,000*l.* a-year, which were quietly divided amongst Cromwell's life-guards, while the proprietor was sent out to beg, and his daughters compelled to take in washing or do needlework, could scarcely be expected to take such a change in their circumstances very calmly. A man who had been transplanted from an estate worth 2,500*l.* a-year near Dublin, which his family had owned for four hundred years, and whose daughters were given the munificent gratuity of 10*l.* apiece by the Council Board, and forbidden for the future to ask for any further assistance, might certainly plead extenuating circumstances¹ if he took to highway robbery. Such circumstances as these were common at this period; and it

¹ Lord Roche and his daughters were compelled to go on foot to Connaught, and his property was divided amongst the English soldiers. His wife, the viscountess Roche, was hanged without a shadow of evidence that she had committed the crime of which she was accused. Alderman Roche's daughters had nothing to live on but their own earnings by washing and needlework; and Mr. Luttrell, the last case mentioned above, was allowed as a favour to occupy his *own stables* while preparing to transplant.

should be borne in mind that the man whose holding was worth but 40*l.* a-year felt the injustice, and resented the inhumanity of his expulsion, quite as much as the nobleman with 4,000*l.* So the Tories plundered their own property; and if they could be captured, paid the penalty with their lives; but, when they were not caught, the whole district suffered, and some one was made a scapegoat for their crime, though it did not seem much to matter whether the victim could be charged with complicity or not. After some years, when even the sons of the proprietors had become old inhabitants, and the dispossessed generation had passed away, their children were still called Tories. They wandered from village to village, or rather from hovel to hovel, and received hospitality and respect from the descendants of those who had been tenants on the estates of their forefathers, and who still called them gentlemen, and treated them as such, though they possessed nothing but the native dignity, which could not be thrown off, and the old title-deeds, which were utterly worthless, yet not the less carefully treasured.

SECTION IV.

Reign of Charles II. Accession of James II.

Charles II. commenced his reign *de facto* in 1660. Some little justice was shown towards those who had suffered for the royal cause in England. Those who had been expelled from their estates by the Cromwellian faction, were driven out by the old proprietors; but in Ireland the case was very different. Even the faithful loyalists, who had sacrificed everything for the king, and had so freely assisted his necessities out of their poverty, were now treated with contempt, and their claims silenced by proclamation; while the men who had been most opposed to the royal interests, and most cruel in their oppression of the natives, were rewarded and admitted into favour. Coote and Broghill were of this class. Each tried to lessen the other in the opinion of their royal master as they ran the race for favour, and each boasted of services never accomplished,

and of loyalty which never existed. The two enemies of each other and of the nation were now appointed lords justices of Ireland; and a Parliament was assembled on May 8, 1661, the first meeting of the kind which had been held for twenty years.

The Catholic, or national interest, was certainly not represented; for there were present seventy-two Protestant peers, and only twenty-one Catholics; while the house of commons comprised two hundred and sixty members, all of whom were burgesses except sixty-four, and the towns had been so entirely peopled by Cromwell's Puritan followers, that there could be no doubt what course they would pursue. An attempt was now made to expel the few Catholics who were present, by requiring them to take the oath of supremacy. The obsequious Parliament voted 30,000*l.* to the duke of Ormonde, whose career of duplicity was crowned with success.

The Bill of Settlement was opposed by the Irish Catholics through their counsel, but their claims were rejected and treated with contempt. Charles had told his Parliament, on his restoration, that he expected they would have a care of his honour and of the promise he had made. This promise had been explicitly renewed by Ormonde for the king, before he left for Breda; but the most solemn engagements were so regularly violated when Irish affairs were concerned, that nothing else could have been expected. A court of claims was at length established, to try the cases of ejectment which had occurred during the Commonwealth; but this excited so much indignation and alarm amongst the Protestants, that all hope of justice was quickly at an end, and the time-serving Ormonde closed the court. The grand occupation of each new reign, for the last few centuries, appears to have been to undo what had been done in the preceding reigns. An Act of Explanation was now passed, and a Protestant militia raised, to satisfy that party. It was provided by the new act, that the Protestants were, in the first place, and especially, to be settled: that any doubt which arose should be decided in their favour; and that no papist who, by the qualifications of the former act, had not been adjudged innocent,

should at any future time be reputed innocent, or entitled to claim any lands or settlements. It will be remembered that Ormonde had cut short the sittings of the court to satisfy Protestant clamour; in consequence of this, more than three thousand Catholic claimants were condemned to forfeit their estates, without even the shadow of an inquiry, but with the pretence of having justice done to them, or, as Leland has expressed it, 'without the justice granted to the vilest criminal—that of a fair and equal trial.'

So many complaints were made of Ormonde's administration, that he was now removed for a time. He was succeeded by lord Berkeley, in May 1670, a nobleman whose honest and impartial government earned him the respect of all who were not interested in upholding a contrary line of conduct. The Catholics offered him an address, which was signed by two prelates, who held a prominent position, not only in their Church, but also in the history of the period; these were Dr. Plunkett, archbishop of Armagh, and Dr. Talbot, archbishop of Dublin. Dr. Plunkett had been archbishop of Armagh since the death of Dr. O'Reilly in 1669. He belonged to the noble family of Fingall, but he was more respected for his virtues and his office than for his rank. He was accused of being in correspondence with the French, and was seized on December 6, 1679. Even Ormonde wished to have spared him, so inoffensive and peaceful had been his life. He was arraigned at the Dundalk assizes; but although every man on the grand jury was a Protestant, from whom, at least, less partiality might be expected towards him than from members of his own church, the perjured witnesses refused to come forward. Indeed, the prelate himself had such confidence in his innocence, and in the honourable dealing of his Protestant fellow-countrymen, when their better judgment was not bewildered by fanaticism, that he declared in London he would put himself on trial in Ireland before any Protestant jury who knew him, and who knew the men who swore against him, without the slightest doubt of the result.

Jones, the Protestant bishop of Meath, was, unfortunately for himself, influenced by fanaticism. He had

served in Cromwell's army, and had all that rancorous hatred of the Catholic Church so characteristic of the low class from whom the Puritan soldiery were drawn. He was determined that the archbishop should be condemned; and as men could not be found to condemn him in Ireland, he induced lord Shaftesbury to have him taken to London. The archbishop was removed to Newgate, about the close of October 1680, and so closely confined, that none of his friends could have access to him. He spent his time in prayer, and his gaolers were amazed at his cheerfulness and resignation. His trial took place on June 8, 1681; but he was not allowed time to procure the necessary witnesses, and the court would not allow certain records to be put in, which would have proved the character of his accusers. Six of the most eminent English lawyers were arrayed against him. The legal arrangements of the times deprived him of the assistance of counsel, but they did not require the judges to help out the men who swore against him: this, however, they did. He was of course condemned, and suffered with such patience and joy that even his enemies were obliged eventually to do justice to his memory.

Colonel Talbot was raised to the peerage as earl of Tyrconnel, and appointed commander to the forces with an authority independent of the lord lieutenant. James commenced his reign by proclaiming his desire for religious liberty. But the age was not yet sufficiently advanced for man to grant his fellow-man the right which he himself exercised of liberty of conscience.

Individually James may not have been much behind the age in opinion on this subject, but liberty of conscience was necessary for himself. He was a Catholic, and he made no secret of his religion; he was, therefore, obliged from this motive, if from no other, to accord the same boon to his subjects. The Quakers were set free in England, and the Catholics were set free in Ireland. But the Puritan faction, who had commenced by fighting for liberty of conscience for themselves, and who ended by fighting to deny liberty of conscience to others, were quite determined that neither Quakers nor Catholics should worship God as they believed

themselves bound to do. Such intolerance, unhappily, was not altogether confined to the illiterate. Coke, in a previous generation, had declared that it was felony even to counsel the king to tolerate Catholics; and Usher, that it was a deadly sin. The king had neither the good sense nor the delicacy of feeling to guide him through these perils. His difficulties, and the complications which ensued, belong to the province of the English historian, but they were not the less felt in Ireland.

The Protestants professed to be afraid of being massacred by the Catholics; the Catholics apprehended a massacre from the Protestants. Catholics were now admitted to the army, to the bar, and to the senate. Protestants declared this an infringement of their rights, and forgot how recently they had expelled their Catholic fellow-subjects, not merely from honours and emoluments, but even from their altars and their homes.

An event now occurred which brought affairs to a crisis. The king's second wife, Mary of Modena, gave him an heir, and the heir appeared likely to live (A.D. 1688). William of Orange, who had long flattered himself that he should one day wear the crown of England, saw that no time should be lost if he intended to secure the prize, and commenced his preparations with all the ability and with all the duplicity for which his career has been admired by one party and denounced by the other, according as political and religious opinions viewed the deceit under the strong light of the ability, or the ability under the glare of the deceit. The Protestant party could not but see all that was to be apprehended if a Catholic heir should succeed to the throne, and they sacrificed their loyalty to their interests, if not to their principles.

William arrived in England on the 5th of November 1688. He professed to have come for the purpose of investigating the rumours which had been so industriously circulated respecting the birth of the heir, who had barred his pretensions, and to induce the king to join the league which had been just formed against France; but he took care to come provided with an armament, which gave the lie to his diplomatic pretensions; and as soon as he had been joined

by English troops, of whose disaffection he was well aware, his real motive was no longer concealed. James fled to France, whither he had already sent his queen and heir. Still there was a large party in England who had not yet declared openly for the usurper; and had not James entirely alienated the affection of his subjects by his tyrannical treatment of the Protestant bishops, his conduct towards the university of Oxford, and the permission, if not the sanction, which he gave to Jeffreys in his bloody career, there can be little doubt that William would have had to fight for the crown on English ground as he did on Irish.

CHAPTER XXI.

RELIGION—LAWS—CUSTOMS—CIVILISATION AND SOCIAL STATE OF IRELAND IN THE FIFTEENTH, SIXTEENTH, AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

SECTION I. *Religion.*

THE great change which was effected in Church government in England during the reign of Henry VIII. had but little effect upon the Irish nation theologically; practically, it unfortunately served not a little to increase the ill feeling between the two countries, since it opened up a new ground for dispute, and hence a new source of bitterness. Religious rancour was now added to party feeling, and cruel persecutions still further widened the breach already but too extensive. The iconoclasm of the Reformers and the barbarity of the soldiers led to the destruction of most of the churches in Ireland, some of which were of rare architectural beauty, and had been erected by the Anglo-Norman lords. Under such circumstances learning could not be expected to flourish. The Irish priests were obliged to go to the Continent for education, and were taught little more than what was necessary for their ministrations. On their return to Ireland they were obliged to remain in strict concealment, and often to live for years in the woods; hence they could not in any way promote literature, however much they might wish to do so. There were, however, some few priests who were obliged to remain on the Continent, and they have written sufficient to prove that there, at least, the Irish ecclesiastic was not indifferent to literary culture.

The Four Masters, whose 'Annals' are the standard

repository of Irish history, were Franciscan monks, who wrote A.D. 1632–1636. Their work obtained the name of the ‘Annals of the Four Masters’ because four friars were principally employed in its compilation. The chief of these writers, Michael O’Clery, was of noble family, but entered the order of St. Francis, while still young, as a lay brother. In the year 1627 he travelled through Ireland, collecting materials for father Hugh Ward, also a Franciscan friar, and guardian of the convent of St. Antony at Louvain, who was preparing a series of lives of Irish saints; and it was probably then that the idea occurred to him of writing the Annals of Ireland. He spent ten years visiting the libraries on the Continent, whither Irish manuscripts had been dispersed, and collecting all that could be found at home. His magnificent work has been published within the last few years, with a translation and most valuable notes, by the late Dr. O’Donovan. The work as published consists of eight large quarto volumes, each volume containing four or five hundred pages. Unfortunately the age was not critical, and the Four Masters have omitted all but the most general reference to their authorities. There is no doubt, however, that they had access to valuable authorities which have since disappeared.

A history of Ireland, compiled also from ancient sources, but on a very much smaller scale, was written by a priest named Keating, while he lay concealed in the Galtee mountains.

John Lynch, the bishop of Killala, and the indefatigable and successful impugner of Cambrensis, was another literary luminary of the age. His career is a fair sample of the extraordinary difficulties experienced by the Irish in their attempts to cultivate intellectual pursuits, and of their undaunted courage in attaining their end. Usher has himself recorded his visit to Galway, where he found Lynch, then a mere youth, teaching a school of humanity (A.D. 1622). ‘We had prooffe,’ he says, ‘during our continuance in that citie, how his schollars profitted under him, by the verses and orations which they brought us.’ Usher then relates how he seriously advised the young schoolmaster to conform to the popular religion; but, as Lynch declined to

comply with his wishes, he was bound over under sureties of 400*l.* sterling to 'forbear teaching.' The tree of knowledge was, in truth, forbidden fruit, and guarded sedulously by the fiery sword of the law. Florence Conry, archbishop of Tuam, the founder of the Irish college of Louvain, was one of the first to suggest and to carry out the idea of supplying Irish youth with the means of education on the Continent, which they were denied at home. It is a fact, almost unexampled in the history of nations, that a whole race should have been thus denied the means of acquiring even the elements of learning, and equally unexampled is the zeal with which the nation sought to procure abroad the advantages from which they were so cruelly debarred at home. At Louvain some of the most distinguished Irish scholars were educated. An Irish press was established within its halls, which was kept constantly employed, and from it proceeded some of the most valuable works of the age, as well as a scarcely less important literature for the people, in the form of short treatises on religion or history. Colleges were also established at Douay, Lisle, Antwerp, Tournay, and St. Omers, principally through the exertions of Christopher Cusack, a learned priest of the diocese of Meath. Cardinal Ximenes founded an Irish college at Lisbon, and cardinal Henriquez founded a similar establishment at Evora.

Trinity College, Dublin, was founded during the reign of queen Elizabeth. Sir John Perrot had proposed to convert St. Patrick's cathedral into an university; but Loftus, the Protestant archbishop, would not allow it, because, according to Leland, 'he was particularly interested in the livings of this church, by leases and estates, which he had procured for himself and his kinsmen.' When the deputy, whom he cordially hated, had been withdrawn, he proposed a plan which gave him the credit of the undertaking without any expenditure on his part. The site he selected was in what was then called Hoggesgreen, now College-green; and the place was the 'scite, ambit, and presinct' of the Augustinian monastery of All Saints, which had been founded by Dermot Mac Murrough, king of Leinster, A.D. 1166. Dr. Loftus, after obtaining

this grant, and such rents as still belonged to the old Catholic monastery, endeavoured to raise a subscription to supply the further funds still necessary to complete the work. In this he signally failed; for those to whom he applied excused themselves on the plea of poverty. Other funds were therefore sought for, and easily obtained; and the revenues of some suppressed Catholic houses in Kerry, Mayo, and Ulster, were taken to endow and erect the Protestant university.

Usher and Ware were, undoubtedly, the most learned men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and, considering the state of political and religious excitement in which they lived and wrote, it is much to their credit that they did not dip their pens still deeper into the gall of controversy and prejudice. Usher was one of the *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*, for his family came to Ireland with king John; but he admired and wrote Celtic history with the enthusiasm of a Celt, and he gathered materials for other men's work with patient industry, however he may have allowed party spirit to influence and warp his own judgment in their use. Usher was Ware's most ardent patron. Habits of indefatigable research did for him, in some degree, what natural genius had done for others. Nor was he slow to recognise or avail himself of native talent; and there can be no doubt, that if he had lived a few years longer after his acquaintance with MacFirbis, Irish literature would have benefited considerably by the united efforts of the man of power, who was devoted to learning, and the man of gifts, who had the abilities which neither position nor wealth can purchase.

Usher was at heart a Puritan; and, however learned himself, he seems to have been indifferent to the necessity of superior education, as well as regular ordination, for his clergy. In 1623 Dr. Blair was invited to Ireland by lord Clannaboy, to take the living of Bangor, vacated by the death of the Rev. John Gibson, 'sence Reformacione from popery the first deane of Down.' Dr. Blair objected both to episcopal government and to use the English liturgy; yet he 'procured a free and safe entry to the holy ministry,' which, according to his own account, was accom-

plished thus. His patron, lord Clannaboy, informed 'the bishop Echlin how opposite I was to episcopacy and their liturgy, and had the influence to procure my admission on easy and honorable terms.' At his interview with the bishop it was arranged that Dr. Blair was to receive ordination from Mr. Cunningham and the neighbouring clergy, and the bishop was 'to come in among them in no other relation than a presbyter.' These are the bishop's own words; and his reason for ordaining at all was: 'I must ordain you, else neither I nor you can answer the law nor brook the land.' In 1627 Blair had an interview with archbishop Usher, and he says 'they were not so far from agreeing as he feared.' 'He admitted that all those things [episcopacy and a form of prayer] ought to have been removed, but the constitution and laws of the place and time would not permit that to be done.' A few years later Mr. John Livingstone thus relates his experience on similar subjects. He had been appointed also by lord Clannaboy to the parish of Killinchy: and, 'because it was needful that he should be ordained to the ministry, and the bishop of Down, in whose diocese Killinchy was, being a corrupt and timorous man, and would require some engagement, therefore my lord Clannaboy sent some with me, and wrote to Mr. Andrew Knox, bishop of Raphoe, who told me he knew my errand, and that I came to him because I had scruples against episcopacy and ceremonies according as Mr. Josiah Welsh and some others had done before; and that he thought his old age was prolonged for little other purpose than to perform such ceremonies.' It was then arranged that he should be ordained as Dr. Blair and others had been. The bishop gave him the book of ordination, and said, 'though he durst not answer it to the state,' that he might draw a line over anything he did not approve of, and that it should not be read. 'But,' concludes Mr. Livingstone, 'I found that it had been so marked by some others before that I needed not mark anything; so the Lord was pleased to carry that business far beyond anything that I have thought or almost ever desired.'

SECTION II. *Laws.—The Brehon Laws still in force.*

The whole subject of law is so intimately connected with Irish history after the English invasion, that it can scarcely be treated as a distinct subject. Mention has been already made of the principal acts of Parliament, and their effects. Sir Philip Sidney made great efforts to abolish the exactions of *coigne* and *livery*, which were, in fact, a tax in kind on the tenant class for the support of the standing army. This tax, not being defined (for such a tax could not be defined), was necessarily a source of great oppression. It was, however, extremely difficult to substitute a money tax, or to get rent paid in money, but even the attempt to do so at once raised the price of land.

Efforts were also constantly made to abrogate the use of the Brehon laws, and in 1577 Sir William Drury hung a Brehon of O'Mores. This, however, was not the best method of teaching the people to discard their ancient customs. It is doubtful whether any Parliament was called in Ireland during the reign of Edward IV.; but there is certainly a letter extant from that prince, dated from Windsor, August 5, A.D. 1550, empowering the lord deputy to summon a house. Parliaments were held during the reign of queen Elizabeth.

The earliest known testaments bear date 1388 and 1440. The Prerogative Court does not possess any will earlier than 1536.

SECTION III. *Architecture, Military and Domestic.*

Ecclesiastical architecture could not be expected to flourish in the unsettled state of the country. Military architecture was confined to the erection of castles and fortresses, in which strength was the one great feature. Dublin castle was repaired and beautified by Sir Henry Sidney about the year 1567; before that time it had fallen into great decay. In the year 1620 the cross of the council-chamber and part of the wall fell down. The estimate for repairing and rebuilding amounted to 1,349*l.* 8*s.*

The old custom-house stood on the site of houses now comprised in that part of Dublin known as Wellington

Quay. Here a locality was selected, in the reign of James I., for the purpose of 'erecting cranes and making wharves.' This street, now so busy and populous, was then in the suburbs, and is described in the lease, A.D. 1620, as 'a certain parcel of ground, lying in or near Dame Street, in the suburbs of the city of Dublin.' A new custom-house was erected about the period of the Restoration, with the addition of a council-chamber, where the privy council and committees of the house of commons were accustomed to assemble. By an order of the privy council, September 19, 1662, the custom-house quay was appointed the sole place for landing and lading the exports and imports of the city of Dublin. In 1683 the public exchange of Dublin was transferred from Cork House to the Tholsel, a building erected early in the reign of Edward II., and described by Camden as built of hewn stone. Here the mayor was elected on Michaelmas day, and the citizens held their public meetings. A clock was set up in 1560, no doubt very much to the admiration of the citizens. A new Tholsel or city hall was erected in 1683, on the same site, and there was a 'change,' where merchants met every day, as in the Royal Exchange in London. Public dinners were given here also with great magnificence; but, from the marshy nature of the ground on which the building had been set up, it fell to decay in 1797, and a new sessions-house was erected in Green Street.

SECTION IV. *Trade and Commerce.*

In the sixteenth century the Irish sent raw and tanned hides, furs, and woollens to Antwerp, taking in exchange sugar, spices, and mercery. The trade with France and Spain for wines was very considerable; fish was the commodity exchanged for this luxury; and even in 1553 Philip II. of Spain paid 1,000*l.* yearly—a large sum for that period—to obtain liberty for his subjects to fish upon the north coast of Ireland. Stafford, in speaking of the capture of Dunboy castle, says, that O'Sullivan made 500*l.* a year by the duties which were paid to him by foreign fishermen, 'although the duties they paid was very little.'

Stanihurst has described a fair in Dublin, and another in Waterford, where he says the wares were 'dog-cheape.' These fairs continued for six days, and merchants came to them from Flanders and France, as well as from England.

After the plantation of Ulster Irish commerce was allowed to flourish for a while; the revenue of the crown doubled; and statesmen should have been convinced that an unselfish policy was the best for both countries. But there will always be persons whose private interests clash with the public good, and who have influence enough to secure their own advantage at the expense of the multitude. Curiously enough, the temporary prosperity of Ireland was made a reason for forbidding the exports which had produced it. A declaration was issued by the English government in 1637, which expressly states this, and places every possible bar to its continuance. The Cromwellian settlement, however, acted more effectually than any amount of prohibitions or acts of Parliament, and trade was entirely ruined by it for a time. When it again revived, and live cattle began to be exported in quantities to England, the exportation was strictly forbidden. The duke of Ormonde, who possessed immense tracts of land in Ireland, presented a petition, with his own hands, against the obnoxious measure, and cleverly concluded it with the very words used by Charles himself, in the declaration for the settlement of Ireland at the Restoration, trusting that his majesty 'would not suffer his good subjects to weep in one kingdom when they rejoiced in another.'

Rearing and tending cattle was the principal employment of the people, as, indeed, it always has been. There were one hundred and fifty thousand employed in this way, and one hundred thousand in agriculture. 'Tailors and their wives' are the next highest figure—forty-five thousand. Smiths and apprentices, shoemakers and apprentices, are given at the same figure—twenty-two thousand five hundred. Millers and their wives only numbered one thousand, and the fishery trade the same. The wool-workers and their wives, thirty thousand; but the number of alehouse-keepers is almost incredible. In Dublin, where

there were only four thousand families, there were, at one time, one thousand one hundred and eighty alehouses and ninety-one public brewhouses. The proportion was equally great throughout the country. The linen trade had been encouraged, and, indeed, mainly established in Ireland, by the duke of Ormonde. An English writer says that two hundred thousand pounds of yarn were sent annually to Manchester, a supply which seemed immense in that age; and yet, in the present day, would hardly keep the hands employed for forty-eight hours. A political economist gives the 'unsettledness of the country' as the first of a series of reasons why trade did not flourish in Ireland, and, amongst other remedies, suggests sumptuary laws and a tax upon celibacy, the latter to weigh quite equally on each sex. It would appear from this, that early marriages were not as frequent then as now.

The first post-office was established in 1656 in High Street. For this the nation appears to have been indirectly indebted to Shane O'Neill, of whose proceedings her majesty queen Elizabeth was anxious to be cognisant with as little delay as possible. In 1656, it having been found that the horses of the military, to whom postal communications had been confided previously, were 'much wearied, and his highness' affairs much prejudiced for want of a post-office to carry publique letters,' Evan Vaughan was employed to arrange postal communications, and was made deputy postmaster. Major Swift was the postmaster at Holyhead, and he was allowed 100*l.* a year for the maintenance of four boatmen, added to the packet-boats, at the rate of 8*l.* per diem and 18*s.* per month for wages. Post-houses were established in the principal towns in Ireland about the year 1670, by means of which, for 8*l.* or 12*l.*, letters could be conveyed, twice a week, to the 'remotest parts of Ireland,' and which afforded 'the conveniency of keeping good correspondence.'

In mediæval cities the castle was the centre round which the town extended itself. Dublin was no exception to this rule, and in this century we find High Street and Castle Street the fashionable resorts. The nobility came thither for society, the tradesmen for protection. Castle Street

appears to have been the favourite haunt of the bookselling fraternity, and Eliphud Dobson (his name speaks for his religious views) was the most wealthy bookseller and publisher of his day. His house was called the Stationers' Arms, which flourished in the reign of James II. The Commonwealth was arbitrary in its requirements, and commanded that the printer (there was then only one) should submit any works he printed to the Clerk of the Council, to receive his *imprimatur* before publishing the same. The Williamites were equally tyrannical, for Malone was dismissed by them from the office of State Printer, and tried in the Queen's Bench, with John Dowling, in 1707, for publishing 'A Manuall of Devout Prayers,' for the use of Roman Catholics.

SECTION V.

Social Life.—Domestic Habits and Customs.—Dress.

The inventory of the household effects of Lord Grey, taken in 1540, affords us ample information on the subject of dress and household effects. The list commences with 'eight tun and a pype of Gaskoyne wine,' and the 'long board in the hall.' A great advance had been made since we described the social life of the eleventh century; and the refinements practised at meals were not among the least of many improvements. A *bord-clothe* was spread on the table, though forks were not used until the reign of James I. They came from Italy, to which country we owe many of the new fashions introduced in the seventeenth century. In *The Boke of Curtosye* there are directions given not to 'foule the *bord-clothe* wyth the knyfe;' and Ben Jonson, in his comedy of 'The Devil is an Ass,' alludes to the introduction of forks, and the consequent disuse of napkins. There were also cups of 'assaye,' from which the cupbearer was obliged to drink before his master, to prove that there was no poison in the liquor which he used. The cupboard was covered with a carpet, of which Lord Grey had two. These carpets, or tablecovers, were more or less costly, according to the rank and state of the owner. His lordship had also 'two chares, two fformes, and two stooles.'

Chairs were decidedly a luxury at that day. Although the name is of Anglo-Norman origin, they did not come into general use until a late period; and it was considered a mark of disrespect to superiors, for young persons to sit in their presence on anything but hard benches or stools. The Anglo-Saxons called their seats *sett* and *stol*, a name which we still preserve in the modern stool. The hall was ornamented with rich hangings, and there was generally a *traves*, which could be used as a curtain or screen to form a temporary partition. The floor was strewn with rushes, which were not removed quite so frequently as would have been desirable, considering that they were made the repository of the refuse of the table. Perfumes were consequently much used, and we are not surprised to find 'a casting bottel, dooble gilte, for rosewater,' in the effects of a viceroy of the sixteenth century. Such things were more matters of necessity than of luxury at even a later period.

The courtiers of Charles II. compensated themselves for the stern restraints of puritanism, by giving way to the wildest excesses in dress and manners. Enormous periwigs were introduced, and it became the fashion for a man of *ton* to be seen combing them on the Mall or at the theatre. The hat was worn with a broad brim, ornamented with feathers; a falling band of the richest lace adorned the neck; the short cloak was edged deeply with gold lace; the doublet was ornamented in a similar manner—it was long, and swelled out from the waist; but the 'petticoat breeches' were the glory of the outer man, and sums of money were spent on ribbon and lace to add to their attractions.

The ladies' costume was more simple, at least at this period; they compensated themselves, however, for any plainness in dress, by additional extravagances in their head-dresses, and wore 'heart-breakers,' or artificial curls, which were set out on wires at the sides of the face. Patching and painting soon became common, and many a non-conformist divine lifted up his voice in vain against these vanities.

From an account in the Hamilton manuscripts, published in the *Ulster Archaeological Journal*, it would appear that it

was usual, or, at least, not uncommon, for young men of rank to go abroad for some time, attended by a tutor, to perfect themselves in continental languages. It need scarcely be said that travelling was equally tedious and expensive. A journey from Dublin to Cork occupied several days; postchaises are a comparatively modern invention; and Sir William Petty astonished the good people of Dublin, in the seventeenth century, by inventing some kind of carriage which could be drawn by horses.

He thus describes the diet of the lower orders: 'The diet of these people is milk, sweet and sour, thick and thin; but tobacco, taken in short pipes seldom burned, seems the pleasure of their lives. Their food is bread in cakes, whereof a penny serves a week for each; potatoes from August till May; muscles, cockles, and oysters, near the sea; eggs and butter, made very rancid by keeping in bogs. As for flesh they seldom eat it. Their fuel is turf in most places.' The potatoe, which has brought so many national calamities on the country, had been then some years in the country, but its use was not yet as general as it has become since, as we find from the mention of 'bread in cakes' being an edible during a considerable part of the year.

Petty estimates the population of Ireland at one million one hundred thousand, or two hundred thousand families. Of the latter he states that one hundred and sixty thousand have no fixed hearths; these, of course, were the very poorest class, who lived then, as now, in those mud hovels, which are the astonishment and reprobation of foreign tourists. There were twenty-four thousand families who had 'one chimney,' and sixteen thousand who had more than one. The average number appears to be four. Dublin castle had one hundred and twenty-five, and the earl of Meath's house had twenty-seven. There were, however, one hundred and sixty-four houses in Dublin, which had more than ten.

CHAPTER XXII.

A.D. 1689 TO A.D. 1757.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE IN IRELAND.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS: Massacre of Glencoe—The Bank of England established—Charles XII. King of Sweden—Battle of Blenheim—Union between England and Scotland—Catherine Empress of Russia—Death of Louis XIV.—The South Sea Scheme—Battle of Fontenoy—Earthquake at Lisbon—Battle of Prague.

SECTION I. *Landing of King James at Kinsale.*

JAMES was induced either by cowardice or policy to attempt the recovery of his throne in Ireland. The Irish had always taken the side of loyalty, and, as in the case of Charles I., had sacrificed their own interest to their devotion. James was doubtless well aware of this feeling, and probably considered that, even should he be foiled, his liberty, if not his head, would be safer in Ireland than in England.

Ulster was principally peopled by Protestant Presbyterians, from the north of Scotland. They were not likely to be very loyal even to a Stuart, for the Irish had been called over to Scotland before now to defend royal rights; they had not very defined religious opinions, apart from their hatred of Popery and Prelacy. It cannot be a matter of surprise, therefore, that these men hailed the prospect of a new sovereign, whose opinions, both religious and political, coincided with their own. If he, too, had very general views as to the rights of kings, and no very particular view as to the rights of conscience being granted to any who did not agree with him, he was none the less acceptable.

Tyrconnel had neither men, money, nor arms, to meet the emergency. He had to withdraw the garrison from

Derry to make up the contingent of three thousand men, which he sent to assist the king in England; but they were immediately disarmed, and the young men of Derry closed their gates, and thus were the first to revolt openly against king James. The native Irish had been loyal when loyalty cost them their lives, without obtaining for them any increased liberty to exercise their religion; they were, therefore, not less likely to be loyal now, when both civil and religious liberty might depend upon their fealty to the crown. The Enniskilleners revolted; and the whole of Ulster, except Charlemont and Carrickfergus, declared for William of Orange.

James landed at Kinsale, on March 12, 1689, attended by some Irish troops and French officers. He met Tyrconnel in Cork, created him a duke, and then proceeded to Bandon, where he received the submission of the people who had joined the rebellion. On his arrival in Dublin, he summoned a Parliament and issued proclamations, after which he proceeded to Derry, according to the advice of Tyrconnel. Useless negotiations followed; and James returned to Dublin, after having confided the conduct of the siege to General Hamilton. If that officer had not been incomparably more humane than the men with whom he had to deal, it is probable that the 'Prentice Boys of Derry would not have been able to join in their yearly commemoration of victory. The town was strongly fortified, and well supplied with artillery and ammunition; the besiegers were badly clad, badly provisioned, and destitute of almost everything necessary to storm a town. Their only resource was to starve out the garrison; but of this resource they were partly deprived by the humanity of General Hamilton, who allowed a considerable number of men, women, and children to leave Derry, and thus enabled its defenders to hold out longer. Lundy, who urged them to capitulate to king James, was obliged to escape in disguise; and Major Baker, assisted by the Rev. George Walker, a Protestant clergyman, then took the command. According to the statements of the latter, the garrison amounted to seven thousand five hundred men, and they had twenty-two cannon, which alone gave them an immense advantage over the royal

army. So much has been already said, and written, and sung of the bravery of the Derry men, that nothing more remains to be said. That they were brave, and that they defended bravely the cause which they adopted, there is no doubt ; but if polemics had not mingled with politics in the encounter, it is quite possible that we should have heard no more of their exploits than of those of other men, equally gallant and equally brave. The Enniskilleners, who have obtained an unenviable notoriety for their merciless cruelty in war, occupied the king's troops so as to prevent them from assisting the besiegers. Several encounters took place between the Derry men and the royalists, but with no other result than loss of lives on each side. On June 13, a fleet of thirty ships arrived from England with men and provisions ; but the Irish had obtained the command of the river Foyle, and possession of Culmore fort at the entrance, so that they were unable to enter. De Rosen was now sent by James to assist Hamilton. He proposed and carried out the barbarous expedient of gathering together and driving under the walls all the Protestants whom he could find, and threatening to let them starve to death there unless the garrison surrendered. His plan was strongly disapproved by the king, it disgusted the Irish, and exasperated the besieged, who on the next day erected a gallows on the ramparts, and threatened to hang their prisoners then and there if the unfortunate people were not removed. It is to the credit of the Derry men that they shared their provisions to the last with their prisoners, even while they were dying themselves of starvation. Perhaps the example of humanity set to them by General Hamilton was not without its effect, for kindness and cruelty seem equally contagious in time of war. Kirke's squadrons at last passed the forts, broke the boom, and relieved the garrison, who could not have held out forty-eight hours longer. It was suspected that English gold had procured their admittance, and that the officers who commanded the forts were bribed to let them pass unscathed. The siege was at once raised ; the royal army withdrew on August 5 ; and thus terminated the world-famous siege of Derry.

James now held his Parliament in Dublin, repealed the

Act of Settlement, passed the Act of Attainder, and issued an immense quantity of base coin.

The day on which the siege of Derry was raised the royalists met with a severe reverse at Newtownbutler. They were under the command of lord Mountcashel when attacked by the Enniskilleners. The dragoons had already been dispirited by a reverse at Lisnaskea; and a word of command¹ which was given incorrectly threw the old corps into confusion, from which their brave leader in vain endeavoured to rally them. Colonel Wolseley, an English officer, commanded the Enniskilleners; and the cruelties with which they hunted down the unfortunate fugitives has made the name almost a byword of reproach. Five hundred men plunged into Lough Erne to escape their fury, but of these only one was saved. Lord Mountcashel was taken prisoner, but he escaped eventually and fled to France. Sarsfield, who commanded at Sligo, was obliged to retire to Athlone; and the victorious Williamites remained masters of that part of the country.

Schomberg arrived at Bangor, in Down, on August 13, 1689, with a large army, composed of Dutch, French Huguenots, and new levies from England. On the 17th he marched to Belfast, where he met with no resistance; and on the 27th Carrickfergus surrendered to him on honourable terms, after a siege of eight days, but not until its governor, colonel Charles MacCarthy More, was reduced to his last barrel of powder. Schomberg pitched on Dundalk for his winter quarters, and entrenched himself there strongly; but disease soon broke out in his camp, and it has been estimated that ten thousand men, fully one-half of the force, perished of want and dysentery. James challenged him to battle several times, but Schomberg was too prudent to risk an encounter in the state of his troops; and the king had not the moral courage to make the first attack. Complaints soon reached England of the condition to which the revolutionary army was reduced. Dr. Walker,

¹ Mountcashel gave the word 'right face;' it was repeated 'right about face.' Colonel Hamilton and captain Lavallin were tried in Dublin by court-martial for the mistake, and the latter was shot.

whose military experience at Derry appears to have given him a taste for campaigning, was one of the complainants. William sent over a commission to enquire into the matter, but, as usual in such cases, it arrived too late to do any good. The men wanted food, the horses wanted provender, the surgeons and apothecaries wanted medicines for the sick. It was said that several of the officers drank themselves to death, and some who were in power were charged with participation in the profits of the contractor, John Shales, who, whether guilty or not, was made the scapegoat on the occasion, and was accused, moreover, of having caused all this evil from partiality to king James, in whose service he had been previously. John Shales was therefore taken prisoner, and sent under a strong guard to Belfast, and from thence to London. As nothing more is heard of him, it is probable the matter was hushed up, as he had powerful accomplices in his frauds.

Abundant supplies arrived from England, which, if they could not restore the dead, served at least to renovate the living; and Schomberg was ready to take the field early in the year 1690, notwithstanding the loss of about ten thousand men. James, with the constitutional fatuity of the Stuarts, had lost his opportunity. If he had attacked the motley army of the revolutionary party while the men were suffering from want and disease, and while his own troops were fresh and courageous, he might have conquered; the most sanguine now could scarcely see any other prospect for him than defeat. He was in want of everything; and he had no Englishmen who hoped for plunder, no French refugees who looked for a new home, no brave Dutchmen who loved fighting for its own sake, to fall back upon in the hour of calamity. His French counsellors only agreed to disagree with him. There was the ordinary amount of jealousy amongst the Irish officers—the inevitable result of the want of a competent leader in whom all could confide. The king was urged by one party (the French) to retire to Connaught, and entrench himself there until he should receive succours from France; he was urged by another party (the Irish) to attack Schomberg without delay. Louvois, the French minister of war, divided his hatred

with tolerable impartiality between James and William: therefore, though quite prepared to oppose the latter, he was by no means so willing to assist the former; and when he did send men to Ireland, under the command of the count de Lauzan, he took care that their clothing and arms should be of the worst description. He received in exchange a reinforcement of the best-equipped and best-trained soldiers of the Irish army. Avaux and De Rosen were both sent back to France by James; and thus, with but few officers, badly-equipped troops, and his own miserable and vacillating council, he commenced the war which ended so gloriously or so disastrously, according to the different opinions of the actors in the fatal drama. In July 1690 some of James's party were defeated by the Williamites at Cavan, and several of his best officers were killed or made prisoners. Another engagement took place at Charlemont; the governor, Teigue O'Regan, only yielded to starvation. He surrendered on honourable terms; and Schomberg, with equal humanity and courtesy, desired that each of his men should receive a loaf of bread at Armagh.

SECTION II. *The Battle of the Boyne.*

William had intended for some time to conduct the Irish campaign in person. He embarked near Chester on the 11th of June, and landed at Carrickfergus on the 14th, attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Wurtemberg, the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, the duke of Ormonde, and the earls of Oxford, Portland, Scarborough, and Manchester, with other persons of distinction. Schomberg met him half-way between Carrickfergus and Belfast. William, who had ridden so far, now entered the general's carriage, and drove to Belfast, where he was received with acclamations, and loud shouts of 'God bless the Protestant king!' There were bonfires and discharges of cannon at the various camps of the Williamites. The officers of several regiments paid their respects to him in state. On the 22nd the whole army encamped at Loughbrickland, near Newry. In the afternoon William came up and re-

viewed the troops, pitching his tent on a neighbouring eminence. The army comprised a strange medley of nationalities. More than half were foreigners; and on these William placed his principal reliance, for at any moment a reaction might take place in favour of king James. The Williamite army was well supplied, well trained, admirably commanded, accustomed to war, and amounted to between forty and fifty thousand. The Jacobite force consisted only of twenty thousand, and of these a large proportion were raw recruits. The officers, however, were brave and skilful; but they had only twelve field-pieces, which had been recently received from France. On the 22nd news came that James had encamped near Dundalk; on the 23rd he marched towards Drogheda. On the same day William went to Newry; he was thoroughly aware of the movements of his hapless father-in-law, for deserters came into his camp from time to time. James obtained his information from an English officer, captain Farlow, and some soldiers whom he made prisoners at a trifling engagement which took place between Newry and Dundalk.

James now determined on a retreat to the Boyne through Ardee. His design was to protract the campaign as much as possible,—an arrangement which suited his irresolute habits; but where a kingdom was to be lost or won, it only served to discourage the troops and to defer the decisive moment.

The hostile forces confronted each other for the first time on the banks of the Boyne, June 30, 1689. The Jacobite army was posted on the declivity of the hill of Dunore—its right wing towards Drogheda, its left extending up the river. The centre was at the small hamlet of Oldbridge. Entrenchments were hastily thrown up to defend the fords, and James took up his position at a ruined church on the top of the hill of Dunore. The Williamite army approached from the north, their brave leader directing every movement, and inspiring his men with courage and confidence. He obtained a favourable position, and was completely screened from view until he appeared on the brow of the hill, where his forces debouched slowly and steadily into the ravines below. After planting his batteries on the

heights, he kept up an incessant fire on the Irish lines during the afternoon of the 30th. But James's officers were on the alert, even if their king was indifferent. William was recognised as he approached near their lines to reconnoitre. Guns were brought up to bear on him quietly and stealthily; 'six shots were fired at him, one whereof fell and struck off the top of the duke Wurtemberg's pistol and the whiskers of his horse, and another tore the king's coat on his shoulder.'

William, who was a brave man and wise general, took care that the news of his accident should not dispirit his men. He rode through the camp, showed that he had not received any serious injury, and made a momentary disadvantage a permanent benefit. In the meantime James did all that was possible to secure a defeat. At one moment he decided to retreat, at the next he would risk a battle; then he sent off his baggage and six of his field-pieces to Dublin, for his own special protection; and while thus so remarkably careful of himself, he could not be persuaded to allow the most necessary precaution to be taken for the safety of his army. No one can be surprised, under such circumstances, that the Irish were defeated; the only wonder is, that they had courage to fight for a single hour under so wretched a leader, and well may they have wished, as it is said they did after the battle, to change generals and fight it all over again.

The first attack of William's men was made at Slane. This was precisely what the Jacobite officers had anticipated, and what James had obstinately refused to see. When it was too late, he allowed Lauzan to defend the ford, but even Sir Nial O'Neill's gallantry was unavailing. The enemy had the advance, and Portland's artillery and infantry crossed at Slane. William now felt certain of victory, if, indeed, he had ever doubted it. It was low water at ten o'clock; the fords at Oldbridge were passable; a tremendous battery was opened on the Irish lines; they had not a single gun to reply, and yet they waited steadily for the attack. The Dutch Blue Guards dashed into the stream ten abreast, commanded by the count de Solmes; the Londonderry and Enniskillen dragoons followed, supported by

the French Huguenots. The English infantry came next, under the command of Sir John Haumer and the count Nassau. William crossed at the fifth ford, where the water was deepest, with the cavalry of his left wing. It was a grand and terrible sight. The men in the water fought for William and Protestantism; the men on land fought for their king and their faith. The men were equally gallant. Of the leaders we shall say nothing, lest we should be tempted to say too much. James had followed Lauzan's forces towards Slane. Tyrconnel's valour could not save the day for Ireland against fearful odds. Sarsfield's horse had accompanied the king. The Huguenots were so warmly received by the Irish at the fords that they recoiled, and their commander, Caillemont, was mortally wounded. Schomberg forgot his age, and an affront he had received from William in the morning; and the man of eighty-two dashed into the river with the impetuosity of eighteen. He was killed immediately, and so was Dr. Walker, who headed the Ulster Protestants. William may have regretted the brave old general, but he certainly did not regret the Protestant divine. He had no fancy for churchmen meddling in secular affairs, and a rough 'What brought him there?' was all the reply vouchsafed to the news of his demise. The tide now began to flow, and the battle raged with increased fury. The valour displayed by the Irish was a marvel even to their enemies. Hamilton was wounded and taken prisoner. William headed the Enniskilleners, who were put to flight soon after by the Irish horse, at Platten, and were only rallied again by himself. When the enemy had crossed the ford at Oldbridge, James ordered Lauzan to march in a parallel direction with Douglas and young Schomberg to Duleek. Tyrconnel followed. The French infantry covered the retreat in admirable order, with the Irish cavalry. When the defile of Duleek had been passed, the royalist forces again presented a front to the enemy. William's horse halted. The retreat was again resumed; and at the deep defile of Naul the last stand was made. The shades of a summer evening closed over the belligerent camps. The Williamites returned to Duleek; and eternal shadows clouded over the destinies of the unfortunate Stuarts—a

race admired more from sympathy with their miseries, than from admiration of their virtues.

Thus ended the famous battle of the Boyne. England obtained thereby a new governor and a national debt; Ireland fresh oppression and an intensification of religious and political animosity, unparalleled in the history of nations.

James contrived to be first in the retreat which he had anticipated, and for which he had so carefully prepared. He arrived in Dublin in the evening, and insulted lady Tyrconnel by a rude remark about the fleetness of her husband's countrymen in running away from the battle; to which she retorted, with equal wit and truth, that his majesty had set them the example. He left Dublin the next morning, having first insulted the civil and military authorities by throwing the blame of the defeat on the brave men who had risked everything in his cause. Having carefully provided for his own safety by leaving two troops of horse at Bray to defend the bridge, should the enemy come up, he hastened towards Duncannon, where he arrived at sunrise. Here he embarked in a small French vessel for Kinsale, and from thence he sailed to France, and was himself the bearer of the news of his defeat. The command in Ireland was intrusted to Tyrconnel, who gave orders that the Irish soldiery should march at once to Limerick, each under the command of his own officer. William entered Dublin on Sunday, July 7th. He was received with acclamations by the Protestants, who were now relieved from all fear lest the Catholics should inflict on them the sufferings they had so remorselessly inflicted on the Catholics. Drogheda, Kilkenny, Duncannon, and Waterford capitulated to the victorious army, the garrisons marching to Limerick, towards which place William now directed his course. Douglas was sent to besiege Athlone; but the governor, colonel Grace, made such brave resistance there that he was obliged to withdraw and join William near Limerick.

SECTION III. *The Siege of Limerick.*

The French officers, who had long since seen the hopelessness of the conflict, determined to leave the country.

Lauzan, after having surveyed Limerick, and declared that it might be taken with 'roasted apples,' ordered all the French troops to Galway, where they could await an opportunity to embark for France. But the brave defenders of the devoted city were not deterred. The governor consulted with Sarsfield, Tyrconnel, and the other officers; and the result was a message to William, in reply to his demand for a surrender, to the effect, that they hoped to merit his good opinion better by a vigorous defence of the fortress, which had been committed to them by their master, than by a shameful capitulation. By a skilfully executed and rapid march, Sarsfield contrived to intercept William's artillery on the Keeper Mountains, and after killing the escort, bursting the guns, and blowing up the ammunition, he returned in triumph to Limerick. His success animated the besieged, and infuriated the besiegers. But the walls of Limerick were not as stout as the brave hearts of its defenders. William sent for more artillery to Waterford; and it was found that two of the guns which Sarsfield had attempted to destroy were still available.

The trenches were opened on the 17th of August. On the 20th, the garrison made a vigorous sortie, and retarded the enemy's progress; but on the 24th the batteries were completed, and a murderous fire of red-hot shot and shells was poured into the devoted city. The trenches were carried within a few feet of the palisades, on the 27th; and a breach having been made in the wall near St. John's Gate, William ordered the assault to commence. The storming party were supported by ten thousand men. For three hours a deadly struggle was maintained. The result seemed doubtful, so determined was the bravery evinced on each side. Boisseleau, the governor, had not been unprepared, although he was taken by surprise, and had opened a murderous cross-fire on the assailants when first they attempted the storm. The Brandenburg regiment had gained the Black Battery, when the Irish sprung a mine, and men, faggots, and stones were blown up in a moment. A council of war was held; William, whose temper was not the most amiable at any time, was unusually morose. He had lost

two thousand men between the killed and the wounded, and he had not taken the city, which a French general had pronounced attainable with 'roasted apples.' On Sunday, August 31, the siege was raised. William returned to England, where his presence was imperatively demanded. The military command was confided to the Count de Solmes, who was afterwards succeeded by De Ginkell; the civil government was intrusted to lord Sidney, Sir Charles Porter, and Mr. Coningsby.

Tyrconnel returned to Ireland in January, with a small supply of money and some provisions, notwithstanding the plots laid for him by Luttrell and Purcell. He brought a patent from James, creating Sarsfield earl of Lucan. A French fleet arrived in May, with a small supply of provisions, clothing, and ammunition. It had neither men nor money; but it brought what was supposed to be a fair equivalent, in the person of St. Ruth, a distinguished French officer, who was sent to take the command of the Irish army. In the meantime Ginkell was organising the most effective force ever seen in Ireland: neither men nor money were spared by the English Parliament. And this was the army which the impoverished and ill-provisioned troops of the royalists were doomed to encounter.

Hostilities commenced on June 7, with the siege of Ballymore castle, in Westmeath. The governor surrendered, and Athlone was next attacked. The town is situated on the river Shannon. Its position must be thoroughly understood, to comprehend the heroic bravery with which it was defended. It will be remembered that Athlone was one of the towns which the English of the Pale had fortified at the very commencement of their invasion of Ireland. That portion of the city which lay on the Leinster or Pale side of the river had never been strongly fortified, and a breach was made at once in the wall. Ginkell assaulted it with four thousand men, and the defenders at once withdrew to the other side; but they held the bridge with heroic bravery, until they had broken down two of the arches, and placed the broad and rapid Shannon between themselves and their enemies. St. Ruth had arrived in the meantime, and posted his army, amounting to about fifteen thousand horse and

foot, at the Irish side of the river. The English had now raised the works so high on their side, that they were able to keep up an incessant fire upon the town. According to their own historian, Story, they threw in twelve thousand cannon balls and six hundred bombs, and the siege cost them 'nigh fifty tons of powder.' The walls opposite to the batteries were soon broken down, and the town itself reduced to ruins. The besiegers next attempted to cross in a bridge of boats, but the defenders turned their few field-pieces on them. They then tried to mend the broken bridge; huge beams were flung across, and they had every hope of success. But they knew not yet what Irish valour could dare. Eight or ten devoted men dashed into the water, and tore down the planks, under a galling fire; and, as they fell dead or dying into the river, others rushed to take the places of their fallen comrades, and to complete the work.

St. Ruth now ordered preparations to be made for an assault, and desired the ramparts on the Connaught side of the town to be levelled, that a whole battalion might enter abreast to relieve the garrison when it was assailed. But the governor, D'Usson, opposed the plan, and neglected the order. All was now confusion in the camp. There never had been any real head to the royalist party in Ireland; and to ensure victory in battle, or success in any important enterprise where multitudes are concerned, it is absolutely essential that all should act with union of purpose. Such union, where there are many men, and, consequently, many minds, can be attained only by the most absolute submission to one leader; and this leader, to obtain submission, should be either a lawfully constituted authority, or, in cases of emergency, one of those master-spirits to whom men bow with unquestioning submission, because of the majesty of intellect within them. There were brave men and true men in that camp at Athlone, but there was not one who possessed these essential requisites.

According to the Williamite historian, Ginkell was informed by traitors of what was passing, and that the defences on the river side were guarded by two of the 'most indifferent Irish regiments.' He immediately chose two

thousand men for the assault, distributed a gratuity of guineas amongst them, and, at a signal from the church bell, at six in the evening, on June 30, the assault was made, and carried with such rapidity, that St. Ruth, who was with the cavalry at a distance, was not aware of what had happened until all was over. St. Ruth at once removed his army to Ballinasloe, twelve miles from his former post, and subsequently to Aughrim. The outcry against Tyrconnel became so general that he was obliged to leave the camp.

St. Ruth's ground was well chosen. He had placed his men upon an eminence, and each wing was protected by a morass or bog. The Williamites came up on Sunday, July 11th, while the Irish were hearing mass. In this instance, as in so many others, it is impossible to ascertain correctly the numerical force of each army. The historians on either side were naturally anxious to magnify the numbers of their opponents, and to lessen their own. It is at least certain, that on this, as on other occasions, the Irish were miserably deficient in all the appliances of the art of war, while the English were admirably supplied. The most probable estimate of the Irish force appears to be fifteen thousand horse and foot; and of the English, twenty thousand. Ginkell opened fire on the enemy as soon as his guns were planted. Some trifling skirmishes followed. A council of war was held, and the deliberation lasted until half-past four in the afternoon, at which time a general engagement was decided on. A cannonade had been kept up on both sides, in which the English had immensely the advantage, St. Ruth's excellently chosen position being almost useless for want of sufficient artillery. At half-past six Ginkell ordered an advance on the Irish right centre, having previously ascertained that the bog was passable. The defenders, after discharging their fire, gradually drew the Williamites after them by an almost imperceptible retreat, until they had them face to face with their main line. Then the Irish cavalry charged with irresistible valour, and the English were thrown into total disorder. St. Ruth, proud of the success of his strategies and the valour of his men, exclaimed, '*Le jour est à nous, mes enfans !*' But St. Ruth's weak point was his left wing, and

this was at once perceived and taken advantage of by the Dutch general. Some of his infantry made good their passage across the morass, which St. Ruth had supposed impassable; and the men, who commanded this position from a ruined castle, found that the balls with which they had been served did not suit their fire-arms, so that they were unable to defend the passage. St. Ruth at once perceived his error. He hastened to support them with a brigade of horse; but even as he exclaimed, 'They are beaten; let us beat them to the purpose,' a cannon-ball carried off his head, and all was lost. Another death, which occurred almost immediately after, completed the misfortunes of the Irish. The infantry had been attended and encouraged by Dr. Aloysius Stafford, chaplain to the forces; but when 'death interrupted his glorious career,' they were panic-struck; and three hours after the death of the general and the priest, there was not a man of the Irish army left upon the field. But the real cause of the failure was the fatal misunderstanding which existed between the leaders. Sarsfield, who was thoroughly able to have taken St. Ruth's position, and to have retrieved the fortunes of the day, had been placed in the rear by the jealousy of the latter, and kept in entire ignorance of the plan of battle. He was now obliged to withdraw without striking a single blow. The cavalry retreated along the high road to Lough-rea; the infantry fled to a bog, where numbers were massacred, unarmed and in cold blood.

The loss on both sides was immense, and can never be exactly estimated. Harris says that 'had not St. Ruth been taken off, it would have been hard to say what the consequences of this day would have been.' Many of the dead remained unburied, and their bones were left to bleach in the storms of winter and the sun of summer. There was one exception to the general neglect. An Irish officer, who had been slain, was followed by his faithful dog. The poor animal lay beside his master's body day and night; and though he fed upon other corpses with the rest of the dogs, he would not permit them to touch the treasured remains. He continued his watch until January, when he flew at a soldier, who he feared was about to

remove the bones, which were all that remained to him of the being by whom he had been caressed and fed. The soldier in his fright unslung his piece and fired, and the faithful wolf-dog laid himself down and died by his charge.

Ginkell laid siege to Galway a week after the battle of Aughrim. The inhabitants relied principally upon the arrival of Balldearg O'Donnell for their defence; but, as he did not appear in time, they capitulated on favourable terms, and the Dutch general marched to Limerick.

Tyrconnel died at Limerick, of apoplexy, while he was preparing to put the city into a state of defence. He was a faithful and zealous supporter of the royal cause, and devoted to the Irish nation. His loyalty has induced one party to blacken his character; his haughty and unconciliatory manner prevented his good qualities from being fully appreciated by the other.

The real command now devolved on M. d'Usson, the governor of Limerick. Active preparations for the siege were made on both sides. Ginkell contrived to communicate with Henry Luttrell, whose perfidy was discovered, and who was tried by court-martial and imprisoned. Sixty cannon and nineteen mortars were planted against the devoted city, and on the 30th the bombardment commenced. The Irish horse had been quartered on the Clare side of the Shannon; but, through the treachery or indifference of brigadier Clifford, who had been posted, with a strong body of dragoons to prevent such an attempt, Ginkell was enabled to throw across a pontoon-bridge, and on the morning of the 16th, sent over a large detachment of horse and foot, which effectually cut off communication between the citizens and their camp. On the 22nd he made a feint of raising the siege, but his real object was to lull suspicion, while he attacked the works at the Clare end of Thomond-bridge. The position was bravely defended by colonel Lacy, but he was obliged to yield to overpowering numbers; and the town-major, fearing that the enemy would enter in the *mêlée* with the Irish, drew up the bridge. The English gave no quarter, and, according to their own account, six hundred men were slaughtered on the spot. This was the last engagement. Sarsfield recommended a surrender.

Resistance was equally hopeless and useless ; it could only end in a fearful sacrifice of life on both sides. A parley took place on the 23rd, and on the 24th a three days' truce was arranged. Hostages were exchanged, and a friendly intercourse was established. On October 3, 1691, the treaty was signed. The large stone is still shown which was used as a table on the occasion. What that treaty contained, and how it was violated, are matters which demand a careful and impartial consideration.

St. John's Gate and the Irish outworks were surrendered to the English ; the English town was left for the Irish troops to occupy until their departure for France. The men were to have their choice whether they would serve under William III. or under the French. A few days after they were mustered on the Clare side of the Shannon, to declare which alternative they preferred. An Ulster battalion, and a few men in each regiment, in all about one thousand, entered the service of government ; two thousand received passes to return home ; eleven thousand, with all the cavalry, volunteered for France, and embarked for that country in different detachments, under their respective officers. They were warmly received in the land of their adoption ; and all Irish catholics going to France were granted the privileges of French citizens, without the formality of naturalisation. And thus was formed the famous 'Irish brigade,' which obtained an European reputation. As Macaulay has well observed, 'there were Irish Roman Catholics of great ability, energy, and ambition ; but they were to be found everywhere except in Ireland, at Versailles, and at Saint Ildefonso, in the armies of Frederic, and in the armies of Maria Theresa. One exile became a marshal of France ; another became prime minister of Spain. If he had staid in his native land he would have been regarded as an inferior by all the worthless squireens who had signed the declaration against transubstantiation. In his palace at Madrid he had the pleasure of being assiduously courted by the ambassador of George the Second, and of bidding defiance in high terms to the ambassador of George the Third. Scattered over all Europe were to be found brave Irish generals, dexterous Irish diplomatists,

Irish counts, Irish barons, Irish knights of St. Louis and St. Leopold, of the White Eagle, and the Golden Fleece, who, if they had remained in the house of bondage, could not have been ensigns of marching regiments or freemen of petty corporations.'

SECTION IV. *The Treaty of Limerick.*

This treaty was signed on October 3, 1691. It was signed with every ceremony and circumstance which could be supposed necessary to give it force and permanence. It was the issue of a war for supremacy of opinion, religious rather than political, yet to a certain degree political. There were two circumstances connected with the treaty which, if possible, enhanced the sacredness with which it should have been observed. First, in making a clean copy from the original draught, two lines were omitted by negligence, and the error was not discovered until a few days after the contract was signed, and the *first* garrison given up; but when the error was discovered, the Irish army refused to give up the other garrisons until the omitted lines were inserted. Two days after, a French fleet appeared at the mouth of the Shannon with ample supplies of men and ammunition. Some of the Irish officers suggested an immediate breach of the treaty, but Sarsfield indignantly refused to comply with such dishonourable suggestions.

The preamble of the treaty ran thus:—'Articles of the Treaty, signed under seal by Sir Charles Porter and Thomas Coningby, Esq., lords justices of Ireland, and his excellency baron de Ginkell, lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the English army. On the other part by the right honourable Patrick Sarsfield, earl of Lucan, Piercy viscount Galway, colonel Nicholas Purcell, colonel Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, colonel Garret Dillon, and colonel John Brown.

'Article I. The Roman Catholics of the kingdom of Ireland shall enjoy the free exercise of their religion and all the privileges granted by the laws of Ireland, such as they had enjoyed in the reigns of Charles II., and their majesties, as soon as affairs will permit, shall convene the parliament of

that kingdom, when they shall endeavour to procure for the Roman Catholics the greatest security for, and in, the exercise of their religion.'

This was the whole of the first and most important article. It was in fact the one object for which the Irish lords and officers had fought, and they could not have supposed that articles so plainly made and ratified would be so ruthlessly broken and disregarded.

Article II. guaranteed pardon and protection to all who had served king James, on taking the oath of allegiance, as prescribed in Article IX., as follows:—'I, A. B., do solemnly promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majesties king William and queen Mary; so help me God.'

Articles III., IV., V., and VI. extended the provisions of Articles I. and II. to merchants and other classes of men. Article VII. permits every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said articles to carry side-arms, and to keep a gun in his house. Article VIII. gives the right of removing goods and chattels without search. Article IX. is as follows:—'The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties' government shall be the oath aforesaid, and no other.'

Article X. guarantees that 'no person or persons who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of them.' Articles XI. and XII. relate to the ratification of the articles within 'eight months or sooner.' Article XIII. refers to the debts of colonel John Brown, commissary of the Irish army, to several Protestants, and arranges for their satisfaction.

The military articles provide for the honourable exile of those who wished to leave the country, for the reception into the king's army of those whose wished to remain, and for the cessation of hostilities. The peroration of the civil articles is worded thus: 'And as the said city of Limerick has been in consequence of the above-named articles surrendered to us, we make known to all that we confirm and ratify,' &c., &c.

On the 24th of February following, royal letters patent

confirmatory of the treaty were issued from Westminster in the name of the king and queen, whereby they declared that 'we do, for us, our heirs, and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained; and as to such parts thereof for which an act of Parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by Parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of Parliament for that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles that after the words "Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them," in the second of the said articles, the words following, viz. "And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," should be inserted and be part of the said articles, which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered until after the articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered, and that our said justices and generals, or one of them, did promise that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the foul draft thereof: Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viz. "And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining and declaring that all and every person and persons therein concerned shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place in the said second article, any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article in any wise notwithstanding. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patent shall be enrolled in our court of chancery, in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing.'

How soon a violation of the treaty was suggested is evident from the fact that, the Sunday following the return of the lords justices from Limerick, Dopping, bishop of Meath, preached before them at Christ's church, on the crime of

keeping faith with Papists. The grand jury of Cork, urged on by Cox, the recorder of Kinsale, one of the historians of those times, returned in their inquest that the restoration of the earl of Clancarty's estates 'would be dangerous to the Protestant interest.'

Two months had scarcely elapsed after the departure of the Irish troops, when Harris, an English historian, was obliged to write thus of the open violation of the articles: 'The justices of the peace, sheriffs, and other magistrates, presuming on their power in the country, dispossessed several of their majesties' Catholic subjects, not only of their goods and chattels, but also of their lands and tenements, to the great reproach of their majesties' government.' These complaints were so general, that the lords justices were at last obliged to issue a proclamation on the subject (November 19, 1691), in which they state that they had 'received complaints from all parts of Ireland of the ill-treatment of the Irish who had submitted; and that they [the Irish] were so extremely terrified with apprehensions of the continuance of that usage, that some of those who had quitted the Irish army and went home, with the resolution not to go to France, were then come back again, and pressed earnestly to go thither, rather than stay in Ireland, where, contrary to the public faith, as well as law and justice, they were robbed in their persons and abused in their substance.' This was an official document, and it emanated from the last persons who were likely to listen to such complaints or relieve them, if they could possibly have been denied.

The men who had hoped for confiscations that they might share the plunder, now began to clamour loudly. It was necessary to get up a popular cry against Papists, as the surest means of attaining their end. Individuals who had as little personal hatred to the pope as they had to the Grand Turk, and as little real knowledge of the Catholic Faith as of Mahometanism, uttered wild cries of 'No Popery!' and 'No Surrender!' and William was obliged to yield to the faction who had set him on the throne.

The next and grossest violation of the treaty occurred in the Parliament convened in 1692. A few Catholic peers and a very few Catholic commoners took their seats. One

of the first acts of the victorious majority was to frame an oath in direct contravention to the oath prescribed by the ninth civil article of the treaty, to be taken by members of both houses. This oath solemnly and explicitly denied 'that in the sacrament of the Lord's supper there is any transubstantiation of the elements;' and as solemnly affirmed 'that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the church of Rome, are damnable and idolatrous.' The Catholic peers and commoners could not take any such oath, and retired from the house. Thus the Irish Parliament consisted of members exclusively Protestant until its extinction in 1800. This was an open and flagrant violation of the treaty, but more violations were in preparation.

On October 28, 1692, the Parliament in Dublin rejected a bill which had been sent from England, containing restrictions on certain duties, solely to proclaim their independence. A few days after they were taught a lesson of obedience. Lord Sidney came down to the house unexpectedly, and prorogued Parliament, with a severe rebuke, ordering the clerk to enter his protest against the proceedings of the commons on the journals of the house of lords. The hopes of the English were raised, and the Parliament brought forward the subject of the Limerick articles, with torrents of complaints against the Irish in general, and the Irish Catholics in particular. William received their remonstrance coolly, and the matter was allowed to rest for a time. In 1695 lord Capel was appointed viceroy. He at once summoned a Parliament, which sat for several sessions, and in which some of the penal laws against Catholics were enacted. As the generality even of educated persons, both in England and Ireland, are entirely ignorant of what these laws really were, we shall give a brief account of their enactments, premising first, that seven lay peers and seven Protestant bishops had the honorable humanity to sign a protest against them.

(1) The Catholic peers were deprived of their right to sit in Parliament. (2) Catholic gentlemen were forbidden to be elected as members of Parliament. (3) It denied all Catholics the liberty of voting, and it excluded them from

all offices of trust, and indeed from *all remunerative* employment, however insignificant.¹ (4) They were fined 60*l.* a-month for absence from the Protestant form of worship. (5) They were forbidden to travel five miles from their houses, to keep arms, to maintain suits at law, or to be guardians or executors. (6) Any four justices of the peace could, without further trial, banish any man for life if he refused to attend the Protestant service. (7) Any two justices of the peace could call any man over sixteen before them, and if he refused to abjure the Catholic religion, they could bestow his property on the next of kin. (8) No Catholic could employ a Catholic schoolmaster to educate his children; and if he sent his child abroad for education, he was subject to a fine of 100*l.*, and the child could not inherit any property either in England or Ireland. (9) Any Catholic priest who came to the country should be hanged. (10) Any Protestant suspecting any other Protestant of holding property² in trust for any Catholic, might file a bill against the suspected trustee, and take the estate or property from him. (11) Any Protestant seeing a Catholic tenant-at-will on a farm, which, in his opinion yielded one-third more than the yearly rent, might enter on that farm, and, by simply swearing to the fact, take possession. (12) Any Protestant might take away the horse of a Catholic, no matter how valuable, by simply paying him 5*l.* (13) Horses and wagons belonging to Catholics, were in all cases to be seized for the use of the militia. (14) Any Catholic gentleman's child who became a Protestant, could at once take possession of his father's property.

¹ A petition was sent in to Parliament by the Protestant porters of Dublin, complaining of Darby Ryan for employing Catholic porters. The petition was respectfully received, and referred to a 'committee of grievances.'—*Com. Jour.* vol. ii. f. 699. Such an instance, and it is only one of many, is the best indication of the motive for enacting the penal laws, and the cruelty of them.

² It should be remembered that at this time Catholics were in a majority of at least five to one over Protestants. Hence intermarriages took place, and circumstances occurred, in which Protestants found it their interest to hold property for Catholics, to prevent it from being seized by others. A gentleman, of considerable property in the county Kerry, informed me that his property was held in this way for several generations.

One of the articles of the violated treaty expressly provided that the poor Catholics should be allowed to exercise their trade. An act to prevent the further growth of popery was passed afterwards, which made it forfeiture of goods and imprisonment for any Catholic to exercise a trade in Limerick and Galway, except seamen, fishermen, and day labourers, and even of those only twenty were allowed in each town, and they were obliged to have a special license. Thus a twofold hatred of English rule—political and religious—was kept in active existence, and the people, not allowed to exercise a trade, naturally drifted into habits of indolence and indifference, having ceased to hope for any amelioration of their condition.

Having recorded all these evil deeds of the past, we may remember with satisfaction, not only that they are past, but that they have been condemned, if not by the immediate actors, at least by their descendants. A man is no longer prohibited from exercising an honest calling because his religious views differ from those of his master; parents are no longer denied the privilege of educating their children in their own creed, and such a violation of honour and principle as that which occurred in connection with the treaty of Limerick can never again occur to mar the harmony of the nation.

The Parliament which sat in Dublin was quite willing to put down Popery and to take the property of Catholics, although it was not so willing to submit to English rule in other matters. In 1698 Mr. Molyneux, one of the members for the university of Dublin, published a work, entitled, 'The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated.' But Mr. Molyneux's book was condemned by the English Parliament; and after a faint show of resistance, the Irish members succumbed. The next act of the English Parliament was to suppress the woollen trade in Ireland. In 1698 they passed a law for the prevention of the exportation of wool and of woollen manufactures from Ireland, 'under the forfeiture of goods and ship, and a penalty of 500*l.* for every such offence.' The penal laws had made it 'an offence' for a man to practise his religion or to

educate his children either in Ireland or abroad; the trade laws made it 'an offence' for a man to earn his bread in an honest calling. The lower class of Protestants were the principal sufferers by the destruction of the woollen trade; it had been carried on by them almost exclusively; and it is said that forty thousand persons were reduced to utter destitution by this one enactment. In addition to this, navigation laws were passed, which prohibited Irish merchants from trading beyond seas in any ships except those which were built in England. The embargo laws followed, of which twenty-two were passed at different periods during forty years. They forbade Irish merchants, whether Protestant or Catholic, to trade with any foreign nation, or with any British colony, direct—to export or import *any article*, except to or from British merchants resident in England. Ireland, however, was allowed one consolation, and this was the permission to import rum duty free. Probably none of the honourable members who voted such laws had the deliberate intention of making the Irish a nation of beggars and drunkards; but if the Irish did not become such, it certainly was not the fault of those who legislated for their own benefit, and, as far as they had the power to do so, for her ruin, politically and socially.

William had exercised his royal prerogative by disposing, according to his own inclination, of the estates forfeited by those who had fought for king James's cause. His favourite, Mrs. Villiers, obtained property worth 25,000*l.* per annum. In 1699 the English Parliament began to enquire into this matter, and the Commons voted that 'the advising and passing of the said grants was highly reflecting upon the king's honour.'

SECTION V.

Petitions against the Violations of the Treaty.—Swift's Letters.

Anne succeeded to the English throne in 1702, and the following year the Duke of Ormond was sent to Ireland as lord lieutenant. The house of commons waited on him with a bill 'to prevent the further growth of Popery.' A

few members who had protested against this act resigned their seats; but others whose opinions coincided with those of the majority, were easily found to take their places. The queen's Tory advisers objected to these strong measures, and attempted to nullify them, by introducing the clause known as the 'Sacramental Test,' which excludes from public offices all who refused to receive the sacrament according to the forms of the Established Church. As dissenters from that Church had great influence in the Irish Parliament, and as it was well known that their abhorrence of the Church which had been established by law was little short of their hatred of the Church which had been suppressed by law, it was hoped that they would reject the bill. But they were assured that they would not be required to take the test, and with this assurance they passed the act. It seems to those who look back on such proceedings, almost a marvel, how men, whose conscience forbade them to receive the sacrament according to certain rites, and who, in many cases, certainly would have resigned property, if not life, sooner than act contrary to their religious convictions, should have been so blindly infatuated as to compel other men, as far as they had power to do so, to violate their conscientious convictions. The whole history of religious persecutions, wherever and however carried out, is certainly one of the most curious phases of human perversity which the philosopher can find to study.

Two of the gentlemen, Sir Toby Butler and colonel Cusack, who had signed the treaty of Limerick, petitioned to be heard by counsel against the bill. But appeals to honour and to justice were alike in vain, when addressed to men who were destitute of both. The petitioners were dismissed with the insulting remark, that if they suffered from the act it was their own fault, since, if they complied with its requirements, honours and wealth were at their command. But these were men who would not violate the dictates of conscience for all that the world could bestow on them, and of this one would think they had already given sufficient proof. The bill was passed without a dissentient voice; and men who would themselves have re-

belled openly and violently if the sacramental test had been imposed on them, and who would have talked loudly of liberty of conscience, and the blasphemy of interfering with anyone's religious convictions, now, without a shadow of hesitation, imposed grievous restrictions on others, forgetting that they might be themselves in turn oppressed by those who were in power.

A new phase in Irish history was brought about by the versatile talents, and strong will in their exercise, which characterised the famous Jonathan Swift. The quarrels between Whigs and Tories were at their height. Swift is said to have been a Whig in politics and a Tory in religion. He now began to write as a patriot; and in his famous 'Drapier's Letters' told the government of the day some truths which were more plain than palatable. An Englishman named Wood had obtained a patent under the broad seal, in 1723, for the coinage of copper halfpence. Even the servile Parliament were indignant, and protested against a scheme which promised to flood Ireland with bad coin, and thus to add still more to its already impoverished condition. There was reason for anxiety. The South Sea bubble had lately ruined thousands in England, and France was still suffering from the Mississippi scheme. Speculations of all kinds were afloat, and a temporary mania seemed to have deprived the soberest people of their ordinary judgment. Dr. Hugh Boulter, an Englishman, was made archbishop of Armagh, and sent over mainly to attend to the English interest in Ireland. But he was unable to control popular feeling; and Swift's letters accomplished what the Irish Parliament was powerless to effect. Although it was well known that he was the author of these letters, and though a reward of 300*l.* was offered for the discovery of the secret, he escaped unpunished. In 1725 the patent was withdrawn, and Wood received 3,000*l.* a-year for twelve years as an indemnification—an evidence that he must have given a very large bribe for the original permission, and that he expected to make more by it than could have been made honestly. One of the subjects on which Swift wrote most pointedly and effectively was that of absentees. He employed both facts and ridicule; but

each were equally in vain. He described the wretched state of the country; but his eloquence was unheeded. He gave ludicrous illustrations of the extreme ignorance of those who governed in regard to those whom they governed, but he failed to attain his object.

George I. died at Osnaburg, in Germany, on June 10, 1727. On the accession of his successor the Catholics offered an address expressing their loyalty, but the lords justices took care that it should never reach England. The next events of importance were the zealous efforts made by Dr. Boulter, the Protestant primate, to establish charter schools, where Catholic children might be educated, and to prevent Catholics, who had conformed exteriorly to the State religion, from being admitted to practise at the Bar.

The country was suffering at this period from the most fearful distress. There were many causes for this state of destitution, which were quite obvious to all but those who were interested in maintaining it. The poorer classes, being almost exclusively Catholics, had been deprived of every means of support. Trade was crushed, so that they could not become traders; agriculture was not permitted, so that they could not become agriculturists. There was, in fact, no resource for the majority but to emigrate, to steal, or to starve. To a people whose religion always had a preponderating influence on their moral conduct, the last alternative only was available, as there were not the same facilities for emigration then as now. The cultivation of the potatoe had already become general; it was, indeed, the only way of obtaining food left to these unfortunates. They were easily planted, easily reared; and to men liable at any moment to be driven from their miserable holdings, if they attempted to effect improvements, or to plant such crops as might attract the rapacity of their landlords, they were an invaluable resource. The man might live who ate nothing but potatoes all the year round, but he could scarcely be envied or ejected for his wealth. In 1739 a severe frost destroyed the entire crop, and a frightful famine ensued, in which it was estimated that four hundred thousand persons perished of starvation.

In 1747 George Stone succeeded Dr. Hoadley as primate of Ireland. His appointment was made evidently more in view of temporals than spirituals, and he acted accordingly. Another undignified squabble took place in 1751 and 1753, between the English and Irish Parliaments, on the question of privilege. For a time the 'patriot' or Irish party prevailed; but eventually they yielded to the temptation of bribery and place. Henry Boyle, the Speaker, was silenced by being made earl of Shannon; Anthony Malone was made chancellor of the exchequer; and the opposition party was quietly broken up.

CHAPTER XXIII.

A.D. 1757 to A.D. 1798.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS: Battle of Minden—Death of General Wolf and Conquest of Canada—England declares War with Spain—Joseph II. Emperor of Germany—Gustavus III. Emperor of Sweden—Clement XIV. Pope—Dismemberment of Poland—American War—Bombardment of Gibraltar—Death of Frederic the Great of Prussia—Capture of the Bastille—Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette guillotined—Battle of the Nile.

SECTION I.

Formation of the Catholic Association.—The Whiteboys, or Levellers.

THE Catholics now, for the first time, made an attempt to form a society which, by exerting a uniform and constitutional pressure on the government, might help to obtain the justice so long denied them. Dr. Curry, a physician practising in Dublin, and the author of the well-known ‘Historical and Critical Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland,’ Charles O’Connor, of Belanagar, the Irish antiquary, and Mr. Wyse, of Waterford, were the projectors and promoters of this scheme. The clergy stood aloof from it, fearing to lose any liberty they still possessed if they demanded more; the aristocracy held back, fearing to forfeit what little property yet remained to them, if they gave the least excuse for fresh ‘settlements’ or plunderings. A few Catholic merchants, however, joined the three friends; and in conjunction they prepared an address to the duke of Bedford, who was appointed lord lieutenant in 1757. The address was favourably received, and an answer returned after some time. The government already had

apprehensions of a French invasion, and it was deemed politic to give the Catholics some encouragement, however faint. It is at least certain, that the reply declared 'the zeal and attachment which they [the Catholics] professed would never be more seasonably manifested than at the present juncture.' No immediate advantages followed, but Catholics were henceforth allowed the right of meeting and petitioning, which was an important step towards the attainment of the concessions subsequently granted.

In 1759 a rumour broke out in Dublin that a legislative union was in contemplation by the primate and his faction. On the 3rd of December the citizens rose *en masse*, and surrounded the houses of Parliament. They stopped the carriages of members, and obliged them to swear opposition to such a measure. Some of the Protestant bishops and the lord chancellor were roughly handled; a privy councillor was thrown into the river; the attorney-general was wounded and obliged to take refuge in the college; lord Inchiquin was abused till he said his name was O'Brien, when the rage of the people 'was turned into acclamations.' The Speaker, Mr. Ponsonby, and the chief secretary, Mr. Rigby, had to appear in the porch of the house of commons, solemnly to assure the citizens that no union was dreamed of, and, if it was proposed, that they would be the first to resist it. Public spirit had evidently grown bold and confident, and we can well believe secretary Rigby when he writes to the elder Pitt, that 'the mob' declared, 'since they have no chance of numbers in the house, they must have recourse to numbers out of doors.'

George II. died suddenly at Kensington, and was succeeded by George III., in October 1760. The predilections of the late king for his German connections had led him into war both with France and Spain; the imprudence of ministers, if not the unwise and unjust policy of colonial government, involved the country soon after in a conflict with the American dependencies. In each of these cases expatriated Irishmen turned the scale against the country from which they had been so rashly and cruelly ejected. In France, the battle of Fontenoy was won mainly by the Irish brigade, who were commanded by colonel Dillon; and

the defeat of England by the Irish drew from George II. the well-known exclamation: 'Cursed be the laws that deprive me of such subjects!' In Spain, where the Irish officers and soldiers had emigrated by thousands, there was scarcely an engagement in which they did not take a prominent and decisive part. In Canada the agitation against British exactions was commenced by Charles Thompson, an Irish emigrant, and subsequently the secretary of Congress. Montgomery, another Irishman, captured Montreal and Quebec. O'Brien and Barry, whose names sufficiently indicate their nationality, were the first to command in the naval engagements; and startled England began to recover slowly and sadly from her long infatuation, to discover what had, indeed, been discovered by the sharp-sighted Schomberg and his master long before, that Irishmen, from their habits of endurance and undaunted courage, were the best soldiers she could find, and that, Celts and Papists as they were, her very existence as a nation might depend upon their co-operation.

The agrarian outrages, the perpetrators of which were known at first by the name of Levellers, and eventually by the appellation of Whiteboys, commenced immediately after the accession of George III. An English traveller, Arthur Young, who carefully studied the subject, and who certainly could have been in no way interested in misrepresentation, has thus described the cause and the motive of the atrocities they practised. The first cause was the rapacity of the landlords, who, having let their lands far above their value, on condition of allowing the tenants the use of certain commons, now inclosed the commons, but did not lessen the rent. The bricks were to be made, but the straw was not provided; and the people were told that they were idle. The second cause was the exactions of the tithe-mongers, who are described by this English writer as 'harpies who squeezed out the very vitals of the people, and by process, citation, and sequestration, dragged from them the little which the landlord had left them.' It was hard for those who had been once owners of the soil to be obliged to support the intruders into their property in affluence; while they, with even the most strenuous efforts, could

barely obtain what would keep them from starvation. It was still harder that men, who had sacrificed their position in society and their worldly prospects, for the sake of their religion, should be obliged to support clergymen and their families, some of whom never resided in the parishes from which they obtained tithes, and many of whom could not count above half-a-dozen persons as regular members of their congregation.

Arthur Young thus suggests a remedy for these crimes, which he says were punished with a 'severity which seemed calculated for the meridian of Barbary, while others remain yet the law of the land, which would, if executed, tend more to raise than to quell an insurrection. From all which it is manifest that the gentlemen of Ireland never thought of a radical cure, from overlooking the real cause of disease, which, in fact, lay in themselves, and not in the wretches they doomed to the gallows. Let them change their own conduct entirely, and the poor will not long riot. Treat them like men, who ought to be as free as yourselves; put an end to that system of religious persecution, which, for seventy years, has divided the kingdom against itself—in these two circumstances lies the cure of insurrection; perform them completely, and you will effect a cure.'

How purely these outrages were the deeds of desperate men, who had been made desperate by cruel oppression, and insensible to cruelty by cruel wrongs, is evident from the dying declaration of five Whiteboys, who were executed in 1762, at Waterford, and who publicly declared, and took God to witness, 'that in all these tumults it never did enter into their thoughts to do anything against the king or government.'

It was at this period, and from these causes, that secret societies first commenced in Ireland. It cannot now be ascertained who first began these unhappy conspiracies. Until this period, whatever resistance had been made to lawful rule was made openly, and the mass of the people who joined in such resistance were led by gentlemen of position. At this period, however, Catholics of the upper classes were obtaining greater freedom of conscience, and had hopes of further amelioration of their unfortunate

condition. The clergy also were, if not tolerated, at least not persecuted openly. Each were sufficiently alive to these advantages, and to the probability that they would be irreparably lost if more were demanded by force of arms, or combinations for violent resistance. But it was not so with the people: their condition was worse than it ever had been, and as they could not find leaders of position to help them in their efforts to obtain redress, they had recourse to secret oaths, midnight meetings, and acts of stealthy revenge.

These men do not appear to have given themselves any distinctive appellation; but they were called Whiteboys by the people, because they wore white sheets over their clothes, either as a badge of union or to make it more difficult to recognise individuals, and Levellers, because their first object was to level the fences by which the cattle lands were now inclosed from the people.

A letter from a gentleman in Youghal to his son in London, printed in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for April 1762, says that the Whiteboys 'all along pretend that their assembling was to do justice to the poor, by restoring the ancient commons and redressing other grievances.' A letter from Mr. O'Connor to Dr. Curry, dated June 4, 1762, gives a similar account of the object of these disturbances:

'In relation to the disorders of the poor in Munster, I assured Dr. Warner that they proceeded from the throwing of that province, like Connaught and Leinster, into pasture inclosures, which excluded these poor, and reduced them into a state of desperation, and into that rage which despair on such occasions will dictate. I told him, that the whole proceeded from laws which gave the better sort of the people no occupation in the inland counties but pasturage alone; agriculture being virtually forbid on account of the shortness of their tenures. That in such a state Papists worry Papists, the rich excluding the poorer sort to make room for flocks and herds, which are easily converted into ready money, and find a ready market.'

There was a special reason why cattle were exceptionally valuable at this period. There had been in England for several years a murrain amongst horned cattle, which had

originated in Germany and Holland. Hence there was a great foreign demand for butter and beef, and the value of these exports was proportionably great. As ground appropriated to grazing became more and more valuable, cottiers, being tenants at will, were everywhere ejected from their little holdings, which were let by the landlords to contractors who took large tracts of land, and paid high prices for them. Thus even whole baronies were turned into pastures. Some of those who were ejected fled to large cities, but even here the Penal Laws met them, and they were unable to obtain employment. A few had recourse to emigration, but emigration then was not as feasible as it is now. Those who remained in the country rented a small spot of land, at most an acre, at an exorbitant price, which enabled them to keep their families from actual starvation, but could not supply the necessaries of life. The wages of the labourer still remained the same, so that the poorest were in all cases the greatest sufferers.

Thus was set up that unhappy system which, from time to time, has ever since appeared in Ireland under various names but with the same object, and using the same means—intimidation, threatening notices, and punishment for disobedience to orders by destruction of property, personal violence, or murder. An official declaration was inserted in the Dublin and London ‘Gazettes,’ after a commission of lawyers had investigated some cases, which said that ‘the authors of these disturbances have consisted indiscriminately of persons of different persuasions, and that no marks of disaffection to his majesty’s person or government have been discovered upon this occasion in any class of people.’ The fact was, that people only wanted the means of living, and they attributed their difficulties to the nearest landlord rather than to the government which permitted the landlord to exercise what they considered grave injustice. Those who were interested in denying the real cause of these outrages declared, first, that it was a Popish plot, and then that it was a plot encouraged by the French. But the Catholic priesthood had, all through, steadily opposed the conspiracy even at the risk of their lives, and no proof whatever could be found that the French nation were

in any way whatever connected with it. One priest, however, fell a victim to public opinion.

A large military force, under the marquis of Drogheda, was accordingly despatched to the south. The marquis fixed his head-quarters at Clogheen, in Tipperary, the parish priest of which was Nicholas Sheehy. The magistracy of the county, especially Sir Thomas Maude, William Bagnell, John Bagwell, Daniel Toler, and Parson Hewitson, were among the chief maintainers of the existence of a Popish plot, to bring in the French and the Pretender. Father Sheehy had interfered with more zeal than prudence, in the vain hope of protecting his unfortunate parishioners from injustice; and, in return, he was himself made the victim of injustice. He was accused of encouraging a French invasion—a fear which was always present to the minds of the rulers, as they could not but know that the Irish had every reason to seek for foreign aid to free them from domestic wrongs. He was accused of encouraging the Whiteboys, because, while he denounced their crimes, he accused those who had driven them to these crimes as the real culprits. He was accused of treason, and a reward of 300*l.* was offered for his apprehension. Conscious of his innocence, he gave himself up at once to justice, though he might easily have fled the country. He was tried in Dublin and acquitted. But his persecutors were not satisfied. A charge of murder was got up against him; and although the body of the man could never be found, although it was sworn that he had left the country, although an *alibi* was proved for the priest, he was condemned and executed. A gentleman of property and position named Keeting came forward at the trial to prove that father Sheehy had slept in his house the very night on which he was accused of having committed the murder; but the moment he appeared in court, a clergyman who sat on the bench had him taken into custody, on pretence of having killed a corporal and a sergeant in a riot. The pretence answered the purpose. After father Sheehy's execution, Keeting was tried; and, as there was not even a shadow of proof, he was acquitted. But it was too late to save the victim.

At the place of execution, father Sheehy most solemnly declared, on the word of a dying man, that he was not guilty either of murder or of treason; that he never had any intercourse, either directly or indirectly, with the French; and that he had never known of any such intercourse being practised by others.

The three witnesses on whose evidence he was condemned were persons whose evidence had been already disbelieved by a Dublin jury of Protestants. One of these witnesses was a prostitute, another was a boy of bad character, and the third was a thief. All three were in jail, at the time of father Sheehy's trial, and were taken out of jail to give evidence against him.

'Such,' says Dr. Carey, 'during the space of three years was the fearful and pitiable state of the Roman Catholics of Munster, and so general did the panic at length become, so many of the lower sort were already hanged, in jail, or on the informers' lists, that the greater part of the rest fled through fear; so that the land lay untilled, for want of hands to cultivate it, and a famine was with reason apprehended. As for the better sort, who had something to lose (and who for that reason were the persons chiefly aimed at by the managers of the prosecution), they were at the utmost loss how to dispose of themselves. If they left the country their absence was construed into a proof of their guilt, and if they remained in it they were in imminent danger of having their lives sworn away by informers and approvers; for the suborning and corrupting of witnesses on that occasion was frequent and barefaced, to a degree beyond all belief.'

From the first the Catholic bishops and the clergy strenuously opposed these secret societies. The bishop of Cloyne issued a pastoral, condemning them; the celebrated father Arthur O'Leary wrote against them; the bishop of Ossory excommunicated them. In the dioceses of Kildare and Kilkenny, and throughout Munster, the very clergy were themselves in fear of their vengeance, and were frequently removed by their bishops from one neighbourhood to another.

In the north the 'Hearts of Steel' were formed into a society amongst lord Downshire's tenants, and the 'Peep

o'Day Boys' were the precursors of the Orange association. The disturbances of the Whiteboys ceased in Munster before 1770, but reappeared in the county Kildare in 1775, and in Kilkenny and the Queen's County in 1775 and the following years. The Munster and Kilkenny insurgents of 1785 and the following years assumed the name of Rightboys, but their grievances and their proceedings were the same as those of the Whiteboys, with the exception of the manifestation of an additional animus against the clergy on the subject of tithes.

To so great an extent were the Protestant clergy of Munster the object of attack at this period that many of them fled from their parishes, and took refuge in the large towns. In 1786 a bill was introduced to 'protect the persons, houses, and properties of rectors, vicars, and curates,' actually resident within their parishes. The reason of the continuance of these insurrections was the extreme difficulty of convicting offenders. When an informer could be found, he was generally a man of the worst character, who would recklessly swear any life away. As a general rule, however, those who could have given honest and true evidence would not do so. The truth was, that they sympathised with the men who committed these outrages, not because they had any love for crime, but because they believed them justified in their rash efforts to obtain redress, and hence could not look on them as common murderers or assassins.

SECTION II. *Grattan's demand for Irish Independence.*

In 1771 a grace was granted to the Catholics, by which they were allowed to take a lease of fifty acres of bog, and half an acre of arable land for a house; but this holding was not to be within a mile of any town. In 1773 an attempt was made to tax absentees; but as they were the principal land-owners, they easily defeated the measure. A work was published in 1769, containing a list of the absentees, which is in itself sufficient to account for any amount of misery and disaffection in Ireland. There can be no doubt of the correctness of the statement, because the names of the individuals and the amount of their property

is given in full. Property to the amount of 73,375*l.* belonged to persons who *never* visited Ireland. Pensions to the amount of 371,900*l.* were paid to persons who lived out of Ireland. Property to the amount of 117,800*l.* was possessed by persons who visited Ireland occasionally, but lived abroad. Incomes to the amount of 72,200*l.* were possessed by officials and bishops, who generally lived out of Ireland. The state of trade is also treated in the same work, in which the injustice the country had suffered is fully and clearly explained.

The American war commenced in 1775, and the English Parliament at once resolved to relieve Ireland of some of her commercial disabilities. Some trifling concessions were granted, just enough to make the Irish believe that they need not expect justice except under the compulsion of fear, and not enough to benefit the country. Irish soldiers were now asked for and granted; but exportation of Irish commodities to America was forbidden, and in consequence the country was reduced to a state of fearful distress. The Irish debt rose to 994,890*l.*, but the pension list was still continued and paid to absentees. When the independence of the American States was acknowledged by France, a bill for the partial relief of the Catholics passed unanimously through the English Parliament. Catholics were now allowed a few of the rights of citizens. They were permitted to take and dispose of leases, and priests and schoolmasters were no longer liable to prosecution.

Grattan had entered Parliament in the year 1775. In 1779 he addressed the house on the subject of a free trade for Ireland; and on April 19, 1780, he made his famous demand for Irish independence. His address, his subject, and his eloquence were irresistible. 'I wish for nothing,' he exclaimed, 'but to breathe in this our land, in common with my fellow-subjects, the air of liberty. I have no ambition, unless it be the ambition to break your chain and to contemplate your glory. I never will be satisfied, as long as the meanest cottager in Ireland has a link of the British chain clinging to his rags; he may be naked, but he shall not be in irons. And I do see the time is at hand, the spirit is gone forth, the declaration is planted; and though

great men should apostatise, yet the cause will live; and though the public speaker should die, yet the immortal fire shall outlast the organ which conveyed it; and the breath of liberty, like the word of the holy man, will not die with the prophet, but survive him.'

The volunteer corps, which had been formed in Belfast in 1779, when the coast was threatened by privateers, had now risen to be a body of national importance. They were reviewed in public, and complimented by Parliament. But they were patriots in the truest sense of the word, and of necessity were formidable and dangerous to those who were unwilling to comply with their demands, which, if they were not speedily decided, they might yet have power to enforce. On December 28, 1781, a few of the leading members of the Ulster regiments met at Charlemont, and convened a meeting of delegates from all the volunteer associations, at Dungannon, on February 15, 1782. The delegates assembled on the appointed day, and government dared not prevent or interrupt their proceedings. Colonel William Irvine presided, and twenty-one resolutions were adopted, demanding civil rights, and the removal of commercial restraints. One resolution expresses their pleasure, as Irishmen, as Christians, and as Protestants, at the relaxation of the penal laws. This resolution was suggested by Grattan to Mr. Dobbs, as he was leaving Dublin to join the assembly. It was passed with only two dissentient votes.

The effect of this combined, powerful, yet determined agitation, was decisive. On the 22nd of February Mr. Grattan brought forward his celebrated motion for Irish independence, and it was carried on the 16th of April, just two years after he had first begun to agitate on the subject. When the bill had passed he rose once more in the house, and exclaimed: 'Ireland is now a nation! In that new character I hail her, and, bowing to her august presence, I say, *Esto perpetua*.' A period of unexampled prosperity followed. The very effects of a reaction from conditions under which commerce was purposely restricted and trade paralysed by law, to one of comparative freedom, could not fail to produce such an effect. If the Parliament had been

reformed when it was freed, it is probable that Ireland at this moment would be the most prosperous of nations. But the Parliament was not reformed. The prosperity which followed was rather the effect of reaction than of any real settlement of the Irish question. The land laws were left untouched, an alien church was allowed to continue its unjust exactions; and though Ireland was delivered, her chains were not all broken; and those which were, still hung loosely round her, ready for the hand of traitor or of foe. Though nominally freed from English control, the Irish Parliament was not less enslaved by corrupt influence. Perhaps there had never been a period in the history of England when bribery was more freely used, when corruption was more predominant. A considerable number of the peers in the Irish house were English by interest and by education. A majority of members of the lower house were their creatures. A man who desired a place in Parliament would conform to the opinions of his patron; the patron was willing to receive a 'compensation' for making his opinions, if he had any, coincide with those of the government. Many of the members were anxious for preferment for themselves or their friends; the price of preferment was a vote for ministers. The solemn fact of individual responsibility for each individual act had yet to be understood.

One of the first acts of the Irish independent Parliament was to order the appointment of a committee to enquire into the state of the manufactures of the kingdom, and to ascertain what might be necessary for their improvement. The hearts of the poor, always praying for employment, which had been so long and so cruelly withheld from them, bounded with joy. Petitions poured in on every side. David Bosquet had erected mills in Dublin for the manufacture of metals; he prayed for help. John and Henry Allen had woollen manufactories in the county Dublin; they prayed for help. Thomas Reilly, iron merchant, of the town of Wicklow, wished to introduce improvements in iron works. James Smith, an Englishman, had cotton manufactories at Balbriggan; he wished to extend them. Anthony Dawson, of Dundrum, near Dublin, had water

mills for making tools for all kinds of artisans; this, above all, should be encouraged, now that there was some chance of men having some use for tools. Then there were requests for aid to establish carpet manufactories, linen manufactories, glass manufactories, &c.; and Robert Burke, esq., of the county Kildare, prayed for the loan of 40,000*l.* for seven years, that he might establish manufactories at Prosperous. These few samples of petitions, taken at random from many others, will enable the reader to form some idea of the state of depression in which Ireland was kept by the English government—of the eagerness of the Irish to work, if they were only permitted to do so.

The Irish revenue for the year 1783 was, in round numbers, 900,000*l.*, which amounted to a tax of about 6*s.* per annum on each person. It was distributed thus:—

	£
For the interest of the national debt . . .	120,000
Army and ordnance, civil government, and other funds	450,000
Pensions, grants, bounties, and aids to manu- facturers	250,000
Surplus unappropriated	80,000
Total	<u>£900,000</u>

More than 200,000*l.* was spent during that year in erecting forts, batteries, and other public buildings, which gave employment to the people in certain districts. Large sums were granted to the poor of Cork and Dublin for coals; and large grants were made to encourage manufactures. We have observed, however, in carefully examining these grants, which are by far too numerous for insertion, that they were principally, and, indeed, we might say exclusively, made to persons in Dublin and its neighbourhood, in the north of Ireland, and in the *cities* of Cork and Limerick. Hence, the prosperity of Ireland was only partial, and was confined exclusively, though, probably not intentionally, to certain districts. This will explain why the misery and starvation of the poor, in the less favoured parts of the country, were a principal cause of the fearful insurrection which occurred within a few short years.

Lord Clare proclaimed, in the house of Parliament, that 'no nation on the habitable globe had advanced in cultivation, commerce, and manufacture, with the same rapidity as Ireland, from 1782 to 1800.' *The population increased from three millions to five.* There were five thousand carpenters fully employed in Dublin; there were fifteen thousand silk-weavers. Nor should we be surprised at this; for Dublin possesses at the present day substantial remains of her former prosperity, which are even now the admiration of Europe. All her great public buildings were erected at this period. The custom-house was commenced, and completed in ten years, at a cost of a quarter of a million sterling. The rotundo was commenced in 1784. The law courts, the most elegant and extensive in the British empire, were begun in 1786. In 1788 there were fourteen thousand three hundred and twenty-seven dwelling-houses in Dublin, and one hundred and ten thousand inhabitants. Two hundred and twenty peers and three hundred commoners had separate residences. Dublin was fashionable, and Dublin prospered.

But corruption soon did its fatal work. It sanctioned, nay, it compelled, the persecution of the majority of the nation for their religious creed; and with this persecution the last flame of national prosperity expired, and the persecutors and the persecuted shared alike in the common ruin. In 1792 lord Edward FitzGerald denounced the conduct of the house in these ever-memorable words: 'I do think, sir, that the lord lieutenant and the majority of this house are the worst subjects the king has;' and when a storm arose, the more violent from consciousness that his words were but too true, for all retractation he would only say: 'I am accused of having said that I think the lord lieutenant and the majority of this house are the worst subjects the king has. I said so; 'tis true; and I am sorry for it.'

On May 27, 1782, when the Irish houses met, after an adjournment of three weeks, the duke of Portland announced the unconditional concessions which had been made to Ireland by the English Parliament. Mr. Grattan interpreted the concession in the fullest sense, and moved

an address, 'breathing the generous sentiments of his noble and confiding nature.' Mr. Flood and a few other members took a different and more cautious view of the case. They wished for something more than a simple repeal of the act of 6 George I., and they demanded an express declaration that England would not interfere with Irish affairs. But Mr. Grattan's address was carried by a division of two hundred and eleven to two; and the house, to show its gratitude, voted that twenty thousand Irish seamen should be raised for the British navy, at a cost of 100,000*l.*, and that 50,000*l.* should be given to purchase an estate and build a house for Mr. Grattan, whose eloquence had contributed so powerfully to obtain what they hoped would prove justice to Ireland.

Parliament was dissolved on July 15, 1783, and summoned to meet in October. The volunteers now began to agitate on the important question of parliamentary reform, which, indeed, was necessary; for there were few members who really represented the nation. The close boroughs were bought and sold openly and shamelessly, and many members who were returned for counties were not proof against place or bribes. But the volunteers had committed the fatal mistake of not obtaining the exercise of the elective franchise for their Catholic fellow-subjects: hence the Irish Parliament obtained only a nominal freedom, as its acts were entirely in the hands of the government through the venality of the members. On the 10th of November, one hundred and sixty delegates assembled at the Royal Exchange, Dublin. They were headed by lord Charlemont, and marched in procession to the rotundo. The earl of Bristol, an eccentric, but kind and warm-hearted man, who was also the Protestant bishop of Derry, took a leading part in the deliberations. Sir Boyle Roche, an equally eccentric gentleman, took a message from lord Kenmare to the meeting, assuring them that the Catholics were satisfied with what had been granted to them. He had acted under a misapprehension; and the bishop of Derry, who was, in fact, the only really liberal member of the corps, informed the delegates that the Catholics had held a meeting, with Sir Patrick Bellew in the chair, in

which they repudiated this assertion. Several plans of reform were now proposed; and a bill was introduced into the house by Mr. Flood, on the 29th of November, and warmly opposed by Mr. Yelverton, who was now attorney-general, and had formerly been a volunteer. A stormy scene ensued, but bribery and corruption prevailed. The fate of the volunteers was sealed. Through motives of prudence or of policy, lord Charlemont adjourned the convention *sine die*; and the flame, which had shot up with sudden brilliancy, died out even more rapidly than it had been kindled. The volunteers were now deserted by their leaders, and assumed the infinitely dangerous form of a democratic movement. Such a movement can rarely succeed, and seldom ends without inflicting worse injuries on the nation than those which it has sought to avert.

The delegates were again convened in Dublin by Flood and Napper Tandy. They met in October 1784, and their discussions were carried on in secret. Everywhere the men began to arm themselves, and to train others to military exercises. But the government had gained a victory over them in the withdrawal of their leaders, and the attorney-general attempted to intimidate them still further by a prosecution. In 1785 a bill was introduced for removing some of the commercial restraints of the Irish nation; it passed the Irish house, but, to satisfy popular clamours in England, it was returned with such additions as effectually marred its usefulness. Grattan now saw how grievously he had been mistaken in his estimate of the results of all that was promised in 1782, and he denounced the measure with more than ordinary eloquence. It was rejected, by a small majority, after a debate which lasted till eight o'clock in the morning; and the nationality of the small majority purchased the undying hatred of the English minister, William Pitt. The people were still suffering from the cruel exactions of landlords and tithe-proctors. Their poverty and misery were treated with contempt and indifference, and they were driven to open acts of violence, which could not be repressed, either by the fear of the consequences or the earnest exhortations of the Catholic bishops and clergy.

Pitt was again thwarted by the Irish Parliament on the regency question, when the insanity of George III. required the appointment of his heir as governor of England. The marquis of Buckingham, who was then lord lieutenant, refused to forward their address; but the members sent a deputation of their own. This nobleman was open and shameless in his acts of bribery, and added 13,000*l.* a year to the pension list, already so fatally oppressive to the country. In 1790 he was succeeded by the earl of Westmoreland, and various clubs were formed; but the Catholics were still excluded from them all. Still the Catholics were an immense majority nationally; the French revolution had manifested what the people could do; and the rulers of the land, with such terrible examples before their eyes, could not for their own sakes afford to ignore Catholic interests altogether. But the very cause which gave hope was itself the means of taking hope away. The action of the Irish Catholics was paralysed through fear of the demonlike cruelties which even a successful revolution might induce; and the general fear which the aristocratic party had of giving freedom to the uneducated classes influenced them to a fatal silence. Again the middle classes were left without leaders, who might have tempered a praiseworthy nationality with a not less praiseworthy prudence, and which might have saved both the nation and some of its best and bravest sons from fearful suffering.

SECTION III. *Origin of the United Irishmen.*

A Catholic meeting was held in Dublin, on February 11, 1791, and a resolution was passed to apply to Parliament for relief from their disabilities. This was in truth the origin of the United Irishmen. For the first time Catholics and Protestants agreed cordially and worked together harmoniously. The leading men on the Catholic committee were Keogh, M'Cormic, Sweetman, Byrne, and Branghall; the Protestant leaders were Theobald Wolfe Tone and the Hon. Simon Butler. Tone visited Belfast in October 1791, and formed the first club of the Society of United Irishmen. He was joined there by Neilson, Simms, Russell,

and many others. A club was then formed in Dublin, of which Napper Tandy became a leading member. The fundamental resolutions of the society were admirable. They stated: '1. That the weight of English influence in the government of this country is so great as to require a cordial union among all the people of Ireland, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties and the extension of our commerce. 2. That the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed, is by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in Parliament. 3. That no reform is just which does not include every Irishman of every religious persuasion.'

Tone had already obtained considerable influence by his political pamphlets, which had obtained an immense circulation. There can be no doubt that he was tinctured with republican sentiments; but it was impossible for an Irish Protestant who had any real sympathy with his country, to feel otherwise; it had endured nothing but misery from the monarchical form of government. The Catholics, probably, were only prevented from adopting similar opinions by their inherent belief in the divine right of kings. In 1791 the fears of those who thought the movement had a democratic tendency, were confirmed by the celebration of the anniversary of the French revolution in Belfast, July 1791; and in consequence of this, sixty-four Catholics of the upper classes presented a loyal address to the throne. The Catholic delegates met in Dublin in December 1792, and prepared a petition to the king, representing their grievances. It was signed by Dr. Troy, the Catholic archbishop of Dublin, and Dr. Moylan, on behalf of the clergy. Amongst the laity present were lords Kenmare, Fingall, Trimbleston, Gormanstown, and French. Five delegates were appointed to present the petition, and they were provided with a very large sum of money, which induced those in power to obtain them an audience. They were introduced to George III. by Edmund Burke. His majesty sent a message to the Irish Parliament, requesting them to remove some of the disabilities; but the Parliament treated the message with contempt, and lord chancellor

FitzGibbon brought in a bill to prevent any bodies from meeting by delegation for the future.

In 1793 a relief bill was passed, in consequence of the war with France; a militia bill, and the gunpowder and convention bills, were also passed, the latter being an attempt to suppress the volunteers and the United Irishmen. A meeting of the latter was held in February 1793, and the chairman and secretary were brought before the house of lords, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 500*l.* each. The following year, January 1794, Mr. Rowan was prosecuted for an address to the volunteers, made two years before. Even Curran's eloquence, and the fact that the principal witness was perjured, failed to obtain his acquittal. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of 500*l.* His conviction served only to increase the popular excitement, as he was considered a martyr to his patriotism. An address was presented to him in Newgate by the United Irishmen, but he escaped on May 1, and got safely to America, though 1,000*l.* was offered for his apprehension.

The English minister now appears to have tried to drive the people into a rebellion, which could be crushed at once by the sword, and would spare the necessity of making concessions; or to entangle the leaders in some act of overt treason, and quash the movement by depriving it of its heads. An opportunity for the latter manoeuvre now presented itself. William Jackson, a Protestant clergyman, who had lived many years in France, came to the country for the purpose of opening communications between the French government and the United Irishmen. Jackson confided his secret to his solicitor, a man named Cockayne. The solicitor informed Mr. Pitt, and by his desire continued to watch his victim, and trade on his open-hearted candour, until he had led him to his doom. The end of the unfortunate clergyman was very miserable. He took poison when brought up for judgment, and died in the dock. His object in committing this crime was to save his property for his wife and children, as it would have been confiscated had his sentence been pronounced.

The viceroyalty of earl Fitz-William once more gave the

Irish nation some hope that England would grant them justice. But he was soon recalled; Lord Camden was sent in his stead; and the country was given up to the Beresford faction, who were quite willing to co-operate in Mr. Pitt's plan of setting Protestants and Catholics against each other, of exciting open rebellion, and of profiting by the miseries of the nation to forge new chains for it, by its parliamentary union with England. Everything was done now that could be done to excite the Catholics to rebellion. The Orangemen, if their own statement on oath¹ is to be trusted, were actually bribed to persecute the Catholics. Sermons² were preached by Protestant ministers to excite their feelings; and when the Catholics resisted, or offered reprisals, they were punished with the utmost severity, while their persecutors always escaped. Lord Carhampton, a grandson of the worthless Henry Luttrell, who had betrayed the Irish at the siege of Limerick, commanded the army, and his cruelty is beyond description. An insurrection act was passed in 1796; magistrates were allowed to proclaim counties; suspected persons were to be banished the country or pressed into the fleet, without the shadow of trial; and acts of indemnity were passed, to shield the magistrates and the military from the consequences of any unlawful cruelties which fanaticism or barbarity might induce them to commit.

¹ We give authority for these details. In the spring of 1796 three Orangemen swore before a magistrate of Down and Armagh that the Orangemen frequently met in committees, amongst whom were some members of Parliament, who gave them money and promised that they should not suffer for any act they might commit, and pledged themselves that they should be provided for by government. The magistrate informed the secretary of state, and asked how he should act; but he never received any answer. For further details on this head, see Plowden's *History of the Insurrection*.

² On July 1, 1795, the Rev. Mr. Monsell, a Protestant clergyman of Portadown, invited his flock to celebrate the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne by attending church, and preached such a sermon against the Papists that his congregation fell on every Catholic they met going home, beat them cruelly, and finished the day by murdering two farmer's sons, who were quietly at work in a bog.—Mooney's *History of Ireland*, p. 876.

Grattan appealed boldly and loudly against these atrocities. 'These insurgents,' he said, 'call themselves Protestant Boys—that is, a banditti of murderers, committing massacre in the name of God, and exercising despotic power in the name of liberty.' The published declaration of lord Gosford and of thirty magistrates, who attempted to obtain some justice for the unfortunate subjects of these wrongs, is scarcely less emphatic. It is dated December 28, 1795: 'It is no secret that a persecution, accompanied with all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty which have in all ages distinguished this calamity, is now raging in this country; neither age, nor sex, nor even acknowledged innocence, is sufficient to excite mercy or afford protection. The only crime which the unfortunate objects of this persecution are charged with, is a crime of easy proof indeed; it is simply a profession of the Roman Catholic faith. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this species of delinquency, and the sentence they pronounce is equally concise and terrible; it is nothing less than a confiscation of all property and immediate banishment—a prescription that has been carried into effect, and exceeds, in the number of those it consigns to ruin and misery, every example that ancient or modern history can supply. These horrors are now acting with impunity. The spirit of justice has disappeared from the country; and the supineness of the magistracy of Armagh has become a common topic of conversation in every corner of the kingdom.'

One would have supposed that an official declaration from such an authority, signed by the governor of Armagh and thirty magistrates, would have produced some effect on the government of the day; but the sequel proved that such honorable exposure was as ineffective as the rejected petition of millions of Catholics. The formation of the yeomanry corps filled up the cup of bitterness. The United Irishmen, seeing no hope of constitutional redress, formed themselves into a military organisation. But, though the utmost precautions were used to conceal the names of members and the plans of the association, their movements were well known to government from an early period. Tone, in the meantime, came to France from America, and induced

Carnot to send an expedition to Ireland, under the command of general Hoche. It ended disastrously. A few vessels cruised for a week in the harbour of Bantry Bay; but, as the remainder of the fleet, which was separated by a fog, did not arrive, Grouchy, the second in command, returned to France.

Meanwhile, the society of United Irishmen spread rapidly, and especially in those places where the Orangemen exercised their cruelties. Lord Edward FitzGerald now joined the movement; and even those who cannot commend the cause, are obliged to admire the perfection of his devoted self-sacrifice to what he believed to be the interests of his country. His leadership seemed all that was needed to secure success. His gay and frank manner made him popular; his military bearing demanded respect; his superior attainments gave him power to command; his generous disinterestedness was patent to all. But already a paid system of espionage had been established by government. A set of miscreants were found who could lure their victims to their doom—who could eat and drink, and talk and live with them as their bosom friends, and then sign their death-warrant with the kiss of Judas. There was a regular gang of informers of a low class, like the infamous Jemmy O'Brien, who were under the control of the town-majors, Sirr and Swan. But there were gentlemen informers also, who, in many cases, were never so much as suspected by their dupes. MacNally, the advocate of the United Irishmen, and Mr. Graham, their solicitor, were both of that class. Thomas Reynolds, of Killeen castle, entered their body on purpose to betray them. Captain Armstrong did the same. John Hughes, a Belfast bookseller, had himself arrested several times to allay their suspicions. John Edward Nevill was equally base and treacherous. However necessary it may be for the ends of government to employ spies and informers, there is no necessity for men to commit crimes of the basest treachery. Such men and such crimes will ever be handed down to posterity with the reprobation they deserve.

Attempts were now made to get assistance from France. Mr. O'Connor and lord Edward FitzGerald proceeded

thither for that purpose; but their mission was not productive of any great result. The people were goaded to madness by the cruelties which were committed on them every day; and it was in vain that persons above all suspicion of countenancing either rebels or papists protested against these enormities in the name of common humanity. In 1797 a part of Ulster was proclaimed by general Lalor, and lord Moira described thus, in the English house of lords, the sufferings of the unhappy people: 'When a man was taken up on suspicion, he was put to the torture; nay, if he were merely accused of concealing the guilt of another, the punishment of picketing, which had for some years been abolished as too inhuman even in the dragoon service, was practised. I have known a man, in order to extort confession of a supposed crime, or of that of some of his neighbours, picketed until he actually fainted; picketed a second time, until he fainted again; picketed a third time, until he once more fainted; and all upon mere suspicion. Nor was this the only species of torture; many had been taken and hung up until they were half dead, and then threatened with a repetition of this cruel treatment unless they made confession of the imputed guilt. These,' continued his lordship, 'were not particular acts of cruelty, exercised by men abusing the power committed to them, *but they formed part of a system.* They were notorious; and no person could say who would be the next victim of this oppression and cruelty.' As redress was hopeless, and Parliament equally indifferent to cruelties and to remonstrances, Mr. Grattan and his colleagues left the Irish house to its inhumanity and its fate.

In the autumn of this year, 1797, Mr. Orr, of Antrim, was tried and executed, on a charge of administering the oath of the United Irishmen to a soldier. This gentleman was a person of high character and respectability. He solemnly protested his innocence; the soldier, stung with remorse, swore before a magistrate that the testimony he gave at the trial was false. Petitions were at once sent in, praying for the release of the prisoner, but in vain; he was executed on October 14, though no one doubted his innocence; and 'Orr's fate' became a watchword of and

an incitement to rebellion. Several of the jury made a solemn oath after the trial, that, when locked up for the night to 'consider' their verdict, they were supplied abundantly with intoxicating drinks, and informed, one and all, that, if they did not give the required verdict of guilty, they should themselves be prosecuted as United Irishmen. Mr. Orr was offered his life and liberty again and again, if he would admit his guilt. His wife and four young children added their tears and entreaties to the persuasions of his friends; but he preferred truth and honour to life and freedom. His end was worthy of his resolution. On the scaffold he turned to his faithful attendant, and asked him to remove his watch, as he should need it no more. Mr. Orr was a sincere Protestant; his servant was a Catholic. His last words are happily still on record. He showed the world how a Protestant patriot could die; and that the more sincere and deep his piety, the less likely he would be to indulge in fanatical hatred of those who differed from him. 'You, my friend,' he said to his weeping and devoted servant—'you, my friend, and I must now part. Our stations here on earth have been a little different, and our mode of worshipping the Almighty Being that we both adore. Before his presence we shall stand equal. Farewell! Remember Orr!'

SECTION IV.

The Rebellion of 1798.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie was appointed to command the army in Ireland, in 1797; but he threw up his charge, disgusted with atrocities which he could not control, and which he was too humane even to appear to sanction. He declared the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which made it formidable to everyone but the enemy. General Lake, a fitting instrument for any cruelty, was appointed to take his place; and lord Castlereagh states that 'measures were taken by government to cause a premature explosion.' It would have been more Christian in the first place, and more politic in the second place, if government had taken measures to prevent any explosion at all.

On March 12, 1798, the Leinster delegates, who had been long since betrayed, were seized by major Swan, in Dublin. Fifteen persons were present, the greater number of whom were Protestants. Emmet, MacNevin, Jackson, and Sweetman, were seized the same day. Arthur O'Connor had already been arrested on his way to France, with Father Coigley. The latter was convicted on May 22, at Maidstone, and hanged on evidence so inconclusive, that lord-chancellor Thurlow said: 'If ever a poor man was murdered, it was Coigley!' The arrest of lord Edward Fitzgerald occurred soon after. A severe wound, which he received in the struggle with his captors, combined with the effects of excitement and imprisonment, caused his death.

The 23rd of May had been fixed for the rising; but informations were in the hands of the government. Captain Armstrong had betrayed the Sheares, two brothers who had devoted themselves to the cause of their country with more affection than prudence. The base traitor had wound himself into their confidence, had dined with them, and was on the most intimate social relations with their family. On July 12 he swore their lives away; and two days later they were executed, holding each others' hands as they passed into eternity.

The rising did take place, but it was only partial. The leaders were gone, dead, or imprisoned; and nothing but wild desperation could have induced the people to rise at all.

On May 23 Dublin was placed under martial law; the citizens were armed, the guard was trebled, the barristers pleaded with regimentals and swords, and several of the lamplighters were hung from their own lamp-posts for neglecting to light the lamps. The country people were prepared to march on the city, but lord Roden and his fox-hunters soon put down their attempt. The next morning the dead were exhibited in the castle-yard, and the prisoners were hanged at Carlisle bridge. Sir Watkin Wynn and his Ancient Britons distinguished themselves by their cruelties. The Homsperg Dragoons and the Orange Yeomanry equalled them in deeds of blood. The fighting commenced in Kildare, on the 24th, by an attack on Naas, which was

repelled by lord Gosport. Two of his officers and thirty men were killed, and the people were shot down and hanged indiscriminately. 'Such was the brutal ferocity of some of the king's troops,' says Plowden, 'that they half-roasted and eat the flesh of one man, named Walsh, who had not been in arms.' At Prosperous the insurgents attacked and burned the barracks, and piked any of the soldiers who attempted to escape from the flames. This regiment, the North Cork militia, had been specially cruel in their treatment of the people, who were only too willing to retaliate. A troop of dragoons, commanded by captain Erskine, was almost annihilated at Old Kilcullen. But reverses soon followed. At Carlow the insurgents met with a severe defeat; and the defenceless and innocent inhabitants, who fled into their houses for shelter from the fire, were cruelly and ruthlessly burned to death in their own habitations by the military.

A body of two thousand men, under a leader named Perkins, encamped on the Hill of Allan, and agreed with general Douglas to lay down their arms. The general was honourable and humane, but his subordinates were not so. Major-general Duff, to whom the arms were to have been delivered up, ordered his troops to fire on the people when they had assembled for that purpose. Lord Roden's cavalry cut them down, and an immense number were slaughtered in cold blood. Another attack took place at Tara, where the Irish were again defeated. The insurrection now broke out in Wexford. The people in this part of the country had not joined the movement in any way, until the arrival of the North Cork militia, commanded by lord Kingsborough. The men paraded in orange ribbons, fired at the peaceful country people, and employed pitchcaps and torture, until their victims were driven to desperation. The county was proclaimed on April 27, by the magistrates; and before any riot had taken place, Mr. Hunter Gowan paraded through Gorey at the head of his yeomanry, with a human finger on the point of his sword, which was subsequently used to stir their punch in the evening.

On Whit-Sunday, May 27, the yeomen burned the Catholic chapel of Bolavogue. Father John Murphy, the

parish priest, who had hitherto tried to suppress the insurrection, placed himself at the head of the insurgents. The men now rose in numbers, and marched to Enniscorthy, which they took after some fighting. Vinegar Hill, a lofty eminence overlooking the town, was chosen for their camp. Some of the leading Protestant gentlemen of the county had either favoured or joined the movement; and several of them had been arrested on suspicion, and were imprisoned at Wexford. The garrison of this place, however, fled in a panic, caused by some successes of the Irish troops, and probably from fear of the retaliation they might expect for their cruelties. Mr. Harvey, one of the prisoners mentioned above, was now released, and headed the insurgents; but a powerful body of troops, under general Loftus, was sent into the district, and eventually obtained possession of New Ross, which the Irish had taken with great bravery, but which they had not been able to hold for want of proper military discipline and command. They owed their defeat to insubordination and drunkenness. A number of prisoners had been left at Scullabogue House, near Carrickburne Hill. Some fugitives from the Irish camp came up in the afternoon, and pretended that Mr. Harvey had given orders for their execution, alleging, as a reason, what, indeed, was true, that the royalists massacred indiscriminately. The guard resisted, but were overpowered by the mob, who were impatient to revenge without justice the cruelties which had been inflicted on them without justice. A hundred were burned in a barn, and thirty-seven were shot or piked. This massacre has been held up as a horrible example of Irish treachery and cruelty. It was horrible, no doubt, and cannot be defended or palliated; but, amid these contending horrors of cruel war, the question still recurs: Upon whom is the original guilt of causing them to be charged?

Father Murphy was killed in an attack on Carlow, and death threw the balance strongly in favour of the government troops, who eventually proved victorious. After the battle of Ross, the Wexford men chose the rev. Philip Roche as their leader, in place of Mr. Bagenal Harvey, who had resigned the command. The insurgents were now

guilty of following the example of their persecutors, if not with equal cruelty, at least with a barbarity which their leaders in vain reprobated. The prisoners whom they had taken were confined in the jail, and every effort was made to save them from the infuriated people. But one savage named Dixon, would not be content without their blood; and while the army and their leaders were encamped on Vinegar Hill, he and some other villains as wicked as himself found their way into the jail, and marched the prisoners to the bridge, held a mock trial, and then piked thirty-five of their victims, and flung them into the water. At this moment a priest, who had heard of the bloody deed, hastened to the spot; and after in vain commanding them to desist, succeeded at last in making them kneel down, when he dictated a prayer that God might show them the same mercy which they would show to the surviving prisoners. This had its effect; and the men, who waited in terror to receive the doom they had so often and so mercilessly inflicted on others, were marched back to prison.

The camp on Vinegar Hill was now beset on all sides by the royal troops. An attack was planned by general Lake, with twenty thousand men and a large train of artillery. General Needham did not arrive in time to occupy the position appointed for him; and after an hour and a-half of hard fighting, the Irish gave way, principally from want of gunpowder. The soldiers now indulged in the most wanton deeds of cruelty. The hospital at Enniscorthy was set on fire, and the wounded men shot in their beds. At Wexford general Moore prevented his troops from committing such outrages; but when the rest of the army arrived, they acted as they had done at Enniscorthy. Courts-martial were held, in which the officers were not even sworn, and victims were consigned to execution with reckless atrocity. The bridge of Wexford, where a Catholic priest had saved so many Protestant lives, was now chosen for the scene of slaughter; and all this in spite of a promise of amnesty. Father Roche and Mr. Keogh were the first victims of the higher classes; Messrs. Grogan, Harvey, and Colclough were hanged the following day. A mixed commission was now formed of the magistrates, who were principally

Orangemen, and the military, whose virulence was equally great. Mr. Gordon, a Protestant clergyman, whose History of the Rebellion we have principally followed as he was an eye-witness of its miseries, declares that 'whoever could be proved to have saved an Orangeman or royalist from assassination, his house from burning, or his property from plunder, was considered as having influence amongst the revolvers, and consequently as a rebel commander.' The reward for their charity now was instant execution. John Redmond, the Catholic priest of Newtonbarry, had saved lord Mountmorris and other gentlemen from the fury of the exasperated people, and had preserved his house and property from plunder. He was now sent for by this nobleman; and, conscious of his innocence, and the benefits he had rendered him, he at once obeyed the summons. On his arrival, he was seized, brought before the court, and executed on the pretence of having been a commander in the rebel army. He had, indeed, commanded, but the only commands he ever uttered were commands of mercy. Well might Mr. Gordon sorrowfully declare, that he had 'heard of hundreds of United Irishmen, during the insurrection, who have, at the risk of their lives, saved Orangemen; but I have not heard of a single Orangeman who encountered any danger to save the life of a United Irishman.' With equal sorrow he remarks the difference in the treatment of females by each party. The Irish were never once accused of having offered the slightest insult to a woman; the military, besides shooting them indiscriminately with the men, treated them in a way which cannot be described, and under circumstances which added a more than savage inhumanity to their crime.

The next act of the fatal drama was the execution of the state prisoners. The rising in Ulster had been rendered ineffective, happily for the people, by the withdrawal of some of the leaders at the last moment. The command in Antrim was taken by Henry M'Cracken, who was at last captured by the royalists, and executed at Belfast, on June 17. At Saintfield, in Down, they were commanded by Henry Monroe, who had been a Volunteer, and had some knowledge of military tactics. In an engagement at Ballinahinch, he

showed considerable ability in the disposal of his forces, but they were eventually defeated, and he also paid the forfeit of his life. A remnant of the Wexford insurrection was all that remained to be crushed. On June 21, lord Cornwallis was sent to Ireland, with the command both of the military forces and the civil power. On July 17 an amnesty was proclaimed; and the majority of the state prisoners were permitted eventually to leave the country, having purchased their pardon by an account of the plans of the United Irishmen, which were so entirely broken up that their honour was in no way compromised by the disclosure.

The French allies of Irish insurgents appear to have a fatality for arriving precisely when their services are worse than useless. On August 22, 1798, Humbert landed at Killala with a small French force, which, after a number of engagements, was eventually obliged to surrender at discretion. Thus ended the memorable rebellion of 1798. If its details were not a matter of history, and if it were not absolutely necessary that the student should on this account be made acquainted with them, we might have omitted a record as painful to write as it is to read. But history continually repeats itself, and the narrative may well claim our attention as teaching a lesson which we cannot afford to disregard.

CHAPTER XXIV.

A.D. 1798 to A.D. 1800.

THE LEGISLATIVE UNION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND.

THERE can be little doubt that Mr. Pitt had the Union of Great Britain and Ireland in view some time before its accomplishment. It has been said, and the statement has been recently repeated with some show of authority, that 'the people of Ireland were goaded into an insurrection, in order that a pretext might be obtained for bringing about the union between the two countries.' However this may be, it is at least certain that the union was proposed on January 22, 1799. The principal agents in effecting this change were, in England, Mr. Pitt, prime minister, and his colleagues, the duke of Portland, lord Grenville, and Mr. Dundas. The king also was strongly in favour of the Union, and he had already opposed lord Fitzwilliam's emancipation policy, which he characterised as adopted 'in implicit obedience to the brutal imagination of Mr. Burke.' He had instructed lord Camden 'to support the old English interest as well as the Protestant religion,' not having a sufficiently enlarged mind to perceive, that to support one interest or one religion in preference to another, must inevitably create division in the state, and by creating division weaken the power of the whole body politic. He desired lord Cornwallis to grant no further indulgence to Catholics, oblivious of the fact, that all the indulgence which they asked, was the right of any man to worship God as his conscience dictated.

There can be no doubt that lord Cornwallis accepted the

office of lord lieutenant from an ambitious desire to connect his name with the great national event which he proposed to effect. He was a man of superior intellect, of good business habits, tolerant for his age, and possessed of sufficient tact to gain his end, and sufficient firmness to pursue it steadily.

In Ireland the principal agents were lord Clare and lord Castlereagh. One sought to carry the measure by violence, and the other by bribery. Their characters were as opposite as the means they employed; and hence, as both worked together for the one end, they could hardly fail in accomplishing their object.

The Irish Parliament, which had been adjourned during the greater part of the time of civil war, was assembled a week after the arrival of lord Cornwallis. Both houses voted loyal addresses to the king and lord-lieutenant, and 100,000*l.* to indemnify those who had suffered from the rebellion. The benefit of this grant, however, was entirely bestowed on Protestants, though the Catholics had been the principal sufferers.

In July, five consecutive acts—a complete code of penalties and proscription—were introduced, and after various debates and delays, received the royal sanction on October 6, the last day of the session of 1798. These acts were: 1. The Amnesty Act, the exceptions to which were so numerous, ‘that few of those who took any active part in the rebellion’ were, according to the Cornwallis’ correspondence, ‘benefited by it.’ 2. An Act of Indemnity, by which all magistrates who had ‘exercised a vigour beyond the law’ against the rebels, were protected from the legal consequences of such acts. 3. An Act for attainting lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. Harvey, and Mr. Grogan, against which Curran, taking ‘his instructions from the grave,’ pleaded at the bar of the house of lords, but pleaded in vain. (This Act was finally repealed by the Imperial Parliament in 1819.) 4. An Act forbidding communication between persons in Ireland and those enumerated in the Banishment Act, and making the return to Ireland after sentence of banishment by a court-martial a transportable felony. 5. An Act to compel fifty-one persons therein named to

surrender before December 1, 1798, under pain of high treason. Among the fifty-one were the principal refugees at Paris and Hamburgh: Tone, Lewines, Swift, Tandy, Deane, Major Plunkett, Anthony McCann, Harvey, Morris, &c. On the same day in which the session terminated and the royal sanction was given to these Acts, the name of Henry Grattan was, a significant coincidence, formally struck from the roll of the Irish Privy Council, by the king's command.

Thus the Irish Parliament was made to act against all the feelings and interests of the nation, and hence the nation was all the more willing to forego the services of the Parliament. The next step was to influence the members of the Irish houses. Titles, pensions, and offices were freely promised, and a large sum of money was remitted from Whitehall, and expended in bribes, which was afterwards added as a charge to the public debt of Ireland.

The project was first decidedly announced by a pamphlet written by Mr. Edward Cooke, the Under-secretary, entitled 'Arguments for and against a Union considered.' More than a hundred pamphlets, either in reply or approval, were published in a few weeks. The excitement became intense, as it well might, when such a great national question was mooted. The only obstacle was the bar, which lord Clare, the most absolute subject of modern times, at once attempted to bribe into compliance. He doubled the number of bankrupt commissioners, he revived some offices, and created others, and in two months established thirty-two new offices, the value of each being from six to eight hundred pounds per annum.

The Catholics were won over by promises of emancipation, which there was certainly no intention to fulfil, and by personal compliments to leading bishops. The Orangemen were secured by the bribery of a majority of their leaders, and the hope that henceforth they would be in the ascendant. The Protestant clergy were assured that the maintenance of the established church would be a fundamental article of the Union, a matter of considerable importance to them, as they had never secured any real ground amongst the population of Ireland.

At the close of the year 1798 lord Cornwallis was able to report to his government that the prospect of carrying the measure was more promising than he had expected, and he was presently authorised to bring it forward in his speech at the opening of the next session.

On January 22, 1799, the viceroy went down to the houses of parliament, followed by thousands, and attended by a strong guard. He congratulated both houses on the suppression of the rebellion, on the defeat of Bonaparte's squadron, and on lord Nelson's victory, and concluded thus: 'The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain must have engaged your attention, and his majesty commands me to express his anxious hope that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection, and common interest, may dispose the Parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire.' On the paragraph of the address, re-echoing this sentiment, which was carried by a large majority in the lords, a debate ensued in the commons which lasted till one o'clock of the following day, above twenty consecutive hours. Ponsonby, Parsons, Fitzgerald, Barrington, Plunkett, Lee, O'Donnell, and Bushe spoke against the Union; lord Castlereagh, the knight of Kerry, Corry, Fox, Osborne, Duigenan, and some other members of little note, spoke in favour of it. The galleries and lobbies were crowded all night by the leading people of the city, of both sexes, and when the division was being taken, the most intense anxiety was manifested, within doors and without. At length the tellers made their report to the speaker, himself an ardent anti-Unionist, and it was announced that the numbers were—'for the address, one hundred and five; for the amendment, one hundred and six;' so the paragraph in favour of 'consolidating the empire' was lost by one vote. The remainder of the address, with the expunged paragraph, was barely carried by one hundred and seven to one hundred

and five. Mr. Ponsonby had attempted to follow his victory by a solemn pledge, binding the majority *never* again to entertain the question; but to this several members objected, and the motion was withdrawn.

In the English Parliament, which met on the same day as the Irish, a paragraph was introduced in the king's speech on the subject of the Union, identical with that moved by lord Cornwallis. An amendment was proposed by Sheridan, and resisted by Canning. Several English members also sided with the opposition, but without effect.

The resolutions intended to serve as 'the basis of union,' were introduced by Mr. Pitt, on January 21, and after another powerful speech in opposition from Mr. Grey, who was ably sustained by Mr. Sheridan, Dr. Lawrence, and some twenty others, were put and carried. The following are the resolutions:—

1st. 'In order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner and on such terms and conditions as may be established by acts of the respective Parliaments of his majesty's said kingdoms.

2nd. 'It would be fit to propose as the first article, to serve as a basis of the said union, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, on a day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

3rd. 'For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the succession to the monarchy and the imperial crown of the said United Kingdom shall continue limited and settled, in the same manner as the imperial crown of the said Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing law, and to the terms of the union between England and Scotland.

4th. 'For the same purpose it would be fit to propose that the said United Kingdom be represented in one and the same Parliament, to be styled the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and that

such a number of lords, spiritual and temporal, and such a number of members of the house of commons, as shall be hereafter agreed upon by the acts of the respective Parliaments as aforesaid, shall sit and vote in the said Parliament on the part of Ireland, and shall be summoned, chosen, and returned, in such manner as shall be fixed by an act of the Parliament of Ireland previous to the said union ; and that every member hereafter to sit and vote in the said Parliament of the United Kingdom shall, until the said Parliament shall otherwise provide, take, and subscribe the said oaths, and make the same declarations as are required by law to be taken, subscribed, and made by the members of the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

5th. ' For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the churches of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, shall be preserved as now by law established.

6th. ' For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that his majesty's subjects in Ireland shall at all times be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing in respect of trade and navigation in all ports and places belonging to Great Britain, and in all cases with respect to which treaties shall be made by his majesty, his heirs, or successors, with any foreign power, as his majesty's subjects in Great Britain ; that no duty shall be imposed on the import or export between Great Britain and Ireland of any articles now duty free, and that on other articles there shall be established, for a time to be limited, such a moderate rate of equal duties as shall, previous to the union, be agreed upon and approved by the respective Parliaments, subject, after the expiration of such limited time, to be diminished equally with respect to both kingdoms, but in no case to be increased ; that all articles, which may at any time hereafter be imported into Great Britain from foreign parts shall be importable through either kingdom into the other, subject to the like duties and regulations, as if the same were imported directly from foreign parts : that where any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, are subject to an internal duty in one kingdom, such counter-vailing duties (over and above any duties on

import to be fixed as aforesaid) shall be imposed as shall be necessary to prevent any inequality in that respect; and that all matters of trade and commerce, other than the foregoing, and than such others as may before the union be specially agreed upon for the due encouragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the respective kingdoms, shall remain to be regulated from time to time by the united Parliament.

7th. 'For the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interests or sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively; that, for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expenses of the United Kingdom, in peace or war, shall be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall be established by the respective Parliaments previous to the union; and that, after the expiration of the time to be so limited, the proportion shall not be liable to be varied, except according to such rates and principles as shall be in like manner agreed upon previous to the union.

8th. 'For the like purpose, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and all the courts of civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations from time to time as circumstances may appear to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to require.'

Mr. Pitt, on the passage of these resolutions, proposed an address, stating that the commons had proceeded with the utmost attention to the consideration of the important objects recommended in the royal message, that they entertained a firm persuasion of the probable benefits of a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles; that they were therefore induced to lay before his majesty such propositions as appeared to them to be best calculated to form the basis of such a settlement, leaving it to his wisdom in due time and in proper manner to communicate them to the

lords and commons of Ireland, with whom they would be at all times ready to concur in all such measures as might be found most conducive to the accomplishment of that great and salutary work.

On March 19, lord Grenville introduced the same resolutions in the lords, where they were passed after a spirited opposition speech from lord Holland, and the basis, so far as the king, lords, and commons were concerned, was laid. In proroguing the Irish houses on June 1, lord Cornwallis alluded to these resolutions, and the anxiety of the king, as the common father of the people, to see both kingdoms united in the enjoyment of the blessings of a free constitution.

In the meantime Parliament was prorogued until August, when the prorogation was further extended until January 1800. During the interval the adherents of each party propagated their several views with ardour, and often with acrimony. Although bribery was largely used, there is no doubt that many who were weary of civil war and theological acrimony hoped to find in this union freedom from both and prosperity for their native land; but the great majority were men who could not resist the attractions of place and pension.

The Irish Parliament met for the last time on January 13, 1800. Twenty-seven new peers had been added to the house of lords. In the commons there were fifty new borough members, all pledged to vote with the government. The bankers and the lawyers had both opposed the measure; the Catholic bishops remained neutral. Seven hundred thousand of the Irish people petitioned against the union, and only seven thousand in favour of it, although every exertion was made to obtain signatures.

In the house of lords lord Clare had seventy-five votes, including proxies, for his union address, against twenty-six. Lord Castlereagh stated his plan of union in the commons, and held out the hopes, already offered privately, to the various parties. The proprietors of boroughs were also given to understand that they would receive a large sum to compensate them for their loss of patronage. Sir Jonah Barrington, an eye-witness and actor in the scene,

has thus described it :—‘ Every mind,’ he says, ‘ was at its stretch, every talent was in its vigour : it was a momentous trial ; and never was so general and so deep a sensation felt in any country. Numerous British noblemen and commoners were present at that and the succeeding debate, and they expressed opinions of Irish eloquence which they had never before conceived, nor ever after had an opportunity of appreciating. Every man on that night seemed to be inspired by the subject. Speeches more replete with talent and energy, on both sides, never were heard in the Irish senate ; it was a vital subject. The sublime, the eloquent, the figurative orator, the plain, the connected, the metaphysical reasoner, the classical, the learned, and the solemn declaimer, in a succession of speeches so full of energy and enthusiasm, so interesting in their nature, so important in their consequence, created a variety of sensations even in the bosom of a stranger, and could scarcely fail of exciting some sympathy with a nation which was doomed to close for ever that school of eloquence which had so long given character and celebrity to Irish talent.’

At daybreak Grattan was aroused from his sick bed by a special messenger from Wicklow, who brought the intelligence of his election for that borough. Weak and feeble as he was, he determined to go down to the house, and arrived there at seven o'clock on the morning of the 16th. He appeared supported by two of his friends, Arthur Moore and William Ponsonby. He bowed to the speaker, took the oaths, and then asked permission to address the house sitting ; but his eloquence, great as it was, could not move men already determined on a certain line of action. There was a union majority of forty-two, after a debate of eighteen hours. It was now a mere question of time. On February 5 the lord lieutenant sent a formal message, proposing the basis of union, which was discussed for twenty consecutive hours. At twelve o'clock on February 6 government had a majority of forty-three.

The house went into committee on February 17, when the ministry again commanded a majority. It was on this occasion that Mr. Corry, chancellor of the exchequer, and member for Newry, made, for the third or fourth time that

session, an attack on Grattan, which brought out, on the instant, that famous 'philippic against Corry,' unequalled in our language, for its well-suppressed passion, and finely condensed denunciation. A duel followed, as soon as there was sufficient light; the chancellor was wounded, after which the Castlereagh tactics of 'fighting down the opposition,' received an immediate and lasting check.

Throughout the months of February and March, with an occasional adjournment, the constitutional battle was fought, on every point permitted by the forms of the house. On March 25, the committee, after another powerful speech from the speaker, finally reported the resolutions, which were passed by one hundred and fifty-four to one hundred and seven—a majority of forty-seven. The houses then adjourned for six weeks to allow time for corresponding action to be taken in England. There was little difficulty in carrying the measure. In the upper house, lords Derby, Holland, and King only opposed it; in the lower, Sheridan, Tierney, Grey, and Lawrence mustered, on a division, thirty votes against Pitt's two hundred and six. On May 21, in the Irish commons, lord Castlereagh obtained leave to bring in the Union Bill by one hundred and sixty to one hundred; on June 7, the final passage of the measure was effected.

Barrington has thus graphically described the last night of the Irish Parliament: 'The situation of the speaker on that night was of the most distressing nature. A sincere and ardent enemy of the measure, he headed its opponents; he resisted with all the power of his mind, the resources of his experience, his influence, and his eloquence. It was, however, through his voice that it was to be proclaimed and consummated. His only alternative (resignation) would have been unavailing, and could have added nothing to his character. His expressive countenance bespoke the inquietude of his feeling; solicitude was perceptible in every glance, and his embarrassment was obvious in every word he uttered.

'The galleries were full, but the change was lamentable; they were no longer crowded with those who had been accustomed to witness the eloquence and to animate

the debates of that devoted assembly. A monotonous and melancholy murmur ran through benches, scarcely a word was exchanged amongst the members, nobody seemed at ease, no cheerfulness was apparent, and the ordinary business, for a short time, proceeded in the usual manner.

‘At length the expected moment arrived. The order of the day for the third reading of the bill for a “Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland,” was moved by lord Castlereagh. Unvaried, tame, coldblooded, the words seemed frozen as they issued from his lips; and, as a simple citizen of the world, he seemed to have no sensation on the subject.

‘At that moment he had no country, no God but his ambition: he made his motion, and resumed his seat with the utmost composure and indifference.

‘Confused murmurs again ran through the house; it was visibly affected. Every character in a moment seemed involuntary rushing to its index—some pale, some flushed, some agitated; there were few countenances to which the heart did not despatch some messenger. Several members withdrew before the question could be repeated, and an awful momentary silence succeeded their departure. The speaker rose slowly from that chair which had been the proud source of his honours and of his high character; for a moment he resumed his seat, but the strength of his mind sustained him in his duty, though his struggle was apparent. With that dignity which never failed to signalise his official actions, he held up the bill for a moment in silence; he looked steadily around him on the last agony of the expiring Parliament. He at length repeated, in an emphatic tone, “As many as are of opinion that *this bill* do pass, say aye.” The affirmative was languid but indisputable; another momentary pause ensued; again his lips seemed to decline their office; at length, with an eye averted from the object which he hated, he proclaimed, with a subdued voice, “The ayes have it.” The fatal sentence was now pronounced. For an instant he stood statue-like; then indignantly and with disgust flung the bill upon the table and sunk into his chair with an exhausted spirit.’

All the stages were passed in the English Parliament

during the month of July, and the royal assent was given on August 2. By the provisions of the act the sovereignty of the United Kingdom was to follow the order of the Act of Succession; the Irish peerage was to be reduced by the filling of one vacancy for every three deaths, to the number of one hundred; from among these twenty-eight representative peers were to be elected for life, and four spiritual lords to sit in succession. The number of Irish representatives in the Imperial Parliament was fixed at one hundred (increased to one hundred and five); the churches of England and Ireland were united like the kingdoms, and declared to be one in doctrine and discipline. The debt of Ireland, which was less than 4,000,000*l.* in 1797, increased to 14,000,000*l.* in '99, and had risen to nearly 17,000,000*l.* in 1801, was to be alone chargeable to Ireland, whose proportionate share of general taxation was then estimated at 2-17th of that of the United Kingdom. The courts of law, the privy council, and the viceroyalty, were to remain at Dublin.

On January 1, 1801, in accordance with this great constitutional change, a new imperial standard was run up on London Tower, Edinburgh castle, and Dublin castle. It was formed of the three crosses of St. Patrick, St. Andrew, and St. George, and is that popularly known to us as 'the union jack.' The *fleur de lis* and the word 'France,' were struck from the royal title, which was settled by proclamation to consist henceforth of the words *Dei Gratia, Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor*.

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THE following list of references to authorities which have been consulted by the writer of the present volume has been compiled in the form in which it is presented here, with the hope that it may found useful to the student who may desire to study specially any period of Irish history. Whenever the same work would be of real utility in the study of other periods besides that in which it is first mentioned, the title only is given, to avoid unnecessary repetition.

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INDEX.

INDEX.

ABE

ABERCROMBIE, Sir Ralph, throws up his command in Ireland, 402
 'Acaill, Book of,' 35
 Adamnan, St., sent into Northumbria, 76. His miracles, 76. His Life of St. Columba, 83
 Adrian IV., Pope, gives Henry II. a bull, granting him power to invade Ireland, 157, 170. Probable reasons for Adrian's granting Henry's request, 171
 Aedh. *See* Hugh Allan; Hugh, son of Corngal
 Aedh, king of Connaught, king Diarmaid's cruelty to his son, 73. Defeats Diarmaid, 73
 Aedh, St., his death, 146
 Aengus, Ceilé Dé, his litany, 80. Notice of him, 80
 Aengus Grove, synod of, 147
 Affane, battle of, 283
 Affreca, daughter of the king of Man, marries John de Courcy, 182. Death of her husband, 190
 Africa, circumnavigation of, in early times, 8 *and note*
 Agrarian outrages, commencement of, 381. Origin of the, 382, 383
 Ailbhé, princess, daughter of Cormac MacAirt, married to Finn MacCoole, 35
 Aileach, the Grianan of, destroyed, 141
 Aitheach Tuatha, insurrections of the, 29. Meaning of the words, 30
 Ale-houses, great number of, in Ireland, 345

ARM

Allen, archbishop, murdered, 265
 Almhain (Allen), battle of, 76
 Alphabet, the Irish, 42. The Og-ham alphabet, 16, 43
 Altan, St., accompanies St. Fursey, 86
 Amalgaidh, king of Connaught, 59
 America, legend of St. Brendan's visit to, 81, 82
 Amlaff, or Olaff, Danish chieftain, commands both Danes and Norwegians, 112. His exploits, 112
 Amlaif, king of Dublin, his son killed, 122. Retires to Iona, and dies, 122
 Amlaif, son of the king of Lochlann, joins the Danes, 128
 Amusements of the pre-Christian Celts, 103
 Animals, Irish, 48
 Anne, queen, reign of, 375
 Anrud, Norwegian prince, killed at Clontarf, 133
 Architecture of the Pagan Irish, 44. Their forts, 45. Their crannoges, 45. Ecclesiastical, 96, 152, 255. Military, 97, 255. Fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, 343
 Ardree, defeat of the Irish by the Danes at, 118
 Ardsnull, battle of, 221
 Argat Ross, burial-place of king Eremon, 19, 22
 Armagh, foundation of the see of, 68. Meaning of the name, 69. Eminence of the schools of, 87. Occupied by Turgesius and his Norwegian pirates, 108. Cathedral of, 96. Brian Boru's gift to

ARM

- it, 125. The college raised to the rank of an university, 151
 'Armagh, Book of,' 88
 Armstrong, captain, betrays the Sheares, 403
 Arran, isles of, pagan forts of the, 45.
 St. Enda's monastery at, 80, 81
 Arts, in Ireland, in the fifth to the seventh centuries, 99
 Arun, isles of, fortresses of, 10
 Assaroe, Turlough's army at, 140
 Aston, Sir Arthur, commands in Drogheda, 322. Yields, 322
 Athbry, battle of, 136
 Atheliadh, or Dublin, plundered by the Danes, 110
 Athenry, fierce conflict at, 222
 Athlone, erection of a bridge and castle at, 193. The castle besieged by De Burgo, 214. And by Douglas, 359. Strength and position of the castle of, 361
 Attacotti, revolts of the, 30. Their origin, 30
 Aughrim, battle of, 363. Story of a dog on the field of, 365
 Augustin, appointed to the see of Waterford, 177
 Austrasia visited by St. Columbanus, 84
 Auxilius accompanies St. Patrick into Ireland, 63. Settled as bishop at Killossy, 68

BACRACH, the Druid, and the crucifixion, 26

- Bagnal, Sir Henry, 298. Killed, 300
 Bagnal, Miss, married to Hugh O'Neill, 298, 299
 Ballaghmoon, battle, 116
 Ballintogher, name of, 19
 Ballymore castle, siege and surrender of, 361
 Balls made with enemies' brains, 25
 Bangor, monastery of, 83
 Baraid, the Dane, plunders Leinster, 112
 Bard, remarks on the Celtic word, 103; the bards reduced in number, 74
 Barry, Gerald. *See* Giraldus Cambrensis

BOT

- Bede, his account of Ireland in 656, 75
 Bedford, duke of, lord-lieutenant, 379
 Beg Boirche, king, goes on a pilgrimage, 77
 Belach-Lechta, battle of, 122
 Belfast surrenders to Schomberg, 353
 Belgæ, the, identified with the Fimbolgs, 10
 Bellews, the, settle in Ireland, 57
 Bellingham, Sir Edward, lord-deputy, 271. Seizes the earl of Desmond, 271
 Beltinne, pagan festival of, 39
 Beltinne, laws as to the celebration of, 64
 Benignus, St., son of Seschnan, converted by St. Patrick, 64. Whom he accompanies, 65. Becomes bishop of Armagh, 92. Probably writes the Brehon Laws, 92. Compiles the 'Book of Rights,' 92
 Berkeley, lord, becomes viceroy, 334. His administration, 334
 Bermingham Peter (Sir Pierce Mac Feorais), his treachery to the O'Connors, 217
 Bermingham, lord John, defeats Bruce and the Irish at Faughard, 223. Made earl of Louth, 223
 Bermingham, Sir William, hanged, 225
 Bingham, Sir Richard, at Smerwick harbour, 295. His severity, 296
 Blacaire, son of the Danish king, defeats the Irish at Ardree, 118
 Black death, the, in Ireland, 227
 Blair, Dr., invited to the living of Bangor, 341. His ordination, 341, 342
 Blinding, custom of, 143
 Bobbio, or Bovium, monastery of, founded by St. Columbanus, 85
 Bolg, Magh, slaughter of, 30
 Books destroyed by the Danes, 109, 113
 Boromean tribute, origin of the, 30. Abolished, 32. But revived by Brian Boru, 32. Remitted, 75
 Botiller, Sir Edmund le, viceroy, defeated by Bruce, 221

EOU

Boulter, Dr. Hugh, made archbishop of Armagh, 376
 'Boyle, Annals of,' 5
 Boyle abbey desecrated, 188
 Boyne, battle of the, 355-358
 Bran Dubh, king of Leinster, kills the Ard-Righ Hugh, 74
 Braose, William de, his disputes with Philip of Worcester, 190. His power and state, 191. Escapes to France, 192. Fate of his wife and son, 192
 Breas, son of Ealathan, reigns during the blemish of king Nuada, 12. His meeting with the Firbolg chief Sreng, 12. His unpopularity and resignation, 13
 Brehon Laws, early instance of the existence of the, 12. Account of the, 91-95. Constant efforts made to abrogate the use of the, 343
 Brendan, St., St. Patrick's prophecy of, 68. Notice of him, 80, 81. Legend of his western voyage, 81
 Bresosa, Philip de, Thomond granted to, 182
 Brian Boru, heir apparent to the throne of Munster, 120. At war with the Danes in Thomond, 120. His interview with his brother Mahoun, 120. Whose murder he avenges, 122. Gains the battle of Belach-Lechta, 122. Becomes king of Munster, 122. Joins king Malachy against the Danes, 123. Makes reprisals against Malachy, 123. Defeated in battle by Malachy, 123. Enters Dublin, 124. Allies himself with Olaf's family, 124. Marries Gormflaith, 124. Deposes king Malachy, 124. His prisoners at Kincora, 124. His internal administration, 124. Restores churches and monasteries, 125. Repudiates Gormflaith, and marries again, 126. Marches to Dublin against the Danes, 126. Ravages Ossory and devastates Wicklow, 128. Marches again towards Dublin, 130. His forces at Clontarf, and how they were

BUR

disposed, 130, 131. His address to his men, 132. His conduct during the battle, 133. Killed by Brodir, 133
 Brigantium, city of, founded, 16, 17
 Brigid, St., her life, works, and death, 71
 Bristol, earl of, takes part in the agitation for parliamentary reform, 393
 Britain, origin of the name of, 10
 Britons, the, settled in Ireland, 19. Defeated, 19
 Brodir, the apostate earl, 128, 129. Joins the Danes against Brian Boru, 129. At the battle of Clontarf, 131. Slays Brian, and is put to death, 135
 Brogha, Sidh-na-, mound of, 15
 Browne, Dr., appointed to the see of Dublin, 266. His instructions from Cromwell, 266. His correspondence respecting the Reformation, 267, 268. Becomes primate of Ireland, 272. Deprived, 272
 Bruce, Edward, his campaign in Ireland, 219. Defeats the English, 221. Proclaimed king, 221. Slain, 223. His head sent to king Edward, 223
 Bruce, Robert, king of Scotland, arrives in Ireland, 222. Takes Castleknock, 222. Returns to Scotland, 223
 Brunehalt, queen-dowager of the Franks, her hatred of St. Columbanus, 83
 Bryan, Francis, seizes the territories of Irish chieftains, 271
 Buckingham, marquis of, his lord-lieutenancy, 395
 Burgo, Fitz-Aldelm de, appointed viceroy of Ireland, 179. Conciliates the Irish, 180. Recalled, 182. Assists Cathal Crovderg, 188. His death, 190
 Burgo, Hubert de, appointed justiciary of England and Ireland, 200. Complaint of the king of Connaught against him, 203, 204. His services and death, 204

BUR

- Burgo, Richard de, Connaught bestowed on, 197. Plunders Connaught, 200
- Burgo, Walter de, succeeds to the family estates, 204. Starved to death, 225
- Burgo, de, lands and lordships of, taken by the Crown, 313
- Burgos, de, settle in Meath, 58
- Burke, MacWilliam, plunders Connaught, 205. Reconciled to O'Connor, 205. Leaves O'Connor, 206. Leads an army into Desmond, 206. At the battle of Manger-ton, 205. Created earl of Ulster, 205. Wages war against Fitz-Gerald, 206. His death, 207
- Burke, William Oge, seized, 207
- Burke, Sir William, his death from joy, 294
- Burkes, the, settle in Meath, 58. Ancestor of the, 179, 182, 188, 190. Their quarrels with the Geraldines, 212, 213. Account of the family, 213. The upper and lower Burkes, 226. Their open rebellion, 296. Joined by the Scotch, 296
- Burleigh, lord, Desmond's letter to, 291
- Butler, Sir James, son of the earl of Ormonde, appointed deputy, 241
- Butler, Mac Richard, taken prisoner at Pilltown, 241. Ransomed for a MS., 241
- Butler, Pierse, afterwards earl of Ormonde, made lord-deputy, 264
- Butler, Theobald, his death, 210
- Butler, Sir Toby, petitions against the treaty of Limerick, 375
- Butlers, the, settle in Leinster, 58. Account of them, 224. Their feud with the Burkes and Geraldines, 225
- CADE, Jack, his rebellion, 240
- Cael, king, his murders, 23
- Cairbré, the bard, his satire of king Breas, 13
- Cairbrés, the, three, 33
- Carnech, St., one of the compilers

CAT

- of the Brehon Laws, 92. Patron saint of Dulane, 92
- Caitill Find and his garrison destroyed by the Danes, 112
- Cairns plundered by the Danes, 113
- Callaghan of Cashel, king of Munster, his selfish policy, 117. Pillages Clonmacnoise, 117. Invades Meath and Ossory, 117. Taken prisoner by Murtagh, 118
- Callahan, an Eoghanist prince, joins king Kennedy against the Danes, 120
- Camden, lord, his viceroyalty, 398
- Canon, the rhyming, of the bard Fothadh, 89
- Canons of Irish monasteries, 88. The 'Book of Armagh,' 88. Collection of, for the Irish churches, 89
- Carbury, castle of, murder of the O'Connors at, 217
- Carhampton, lord, his cruelty, 398
- Carlingford, battle of, 111
- Carrickfergus, besieged by Bruce, 221, 222. Condition of the garrison, 222. Besieged by Sorley Boy and the Scotch, 289. Surrendered to the Williamites, 353
- Cashel, rock and chapel of, 116, 255. Recognised as an archiepiscopal see, 147. Synod of, 170
- Castlehaven, lord, commands the Catholic army in 1643, 317
- Castlereagh, lord, his part in the Union, 410
- Castles, royal, the most important, in the thirteenth century, 216. Those erected in the Norman period, 256
- Cataldus, St., patron of Tarentum, 86
- Cathair Cuan, fortress of, taken by Brian Boru, 122
- Cathal Carragh, king of Connaught, his war with Cathal Croyderg, 188
- Cathal Croyderg, his war with Cathal Carragh, 188. How treated by Henry III., 197. Retires into a monastery, 197. His death, 197
- Cathal, Hugh, claims Connaught, 197. His death, 199

CAT

Catholic Association, formation of the, 379. Address of, to the lord-lieutenant, 379

Catholics, persecution of, 269. Penal statutes against them passed, 275. Names of some persons who were put to death, 276, 277. FitzMaurice's expedition to assist them, 293. Persecutions of James I., 305. Proclamation for the expulsion of the Catholic clergy, 310. Insurrection of 1641, 314. Priests hunted out and executed, 330. Enactment of penal laws against them, 371. Privileges and rights accorded to them, 388. Persecutions of the, 392. Measures for driving them into rebellion, 398

Cattle, trade in, in Ireland, 345. Raids in Connaught, 203

Cavan, defeat of the royalists at, 355

Cavanagh, Donald, revolts against the Normans, 175

Caves, or cairns, plundered by the Danes, 113

Ceadrankille, battle of, 204

Cell-Belaigh, settlement of foreigners at, 77

Celsus, St., his efforts for peace, 143. At Aengus Grove synod, 147

Celts, Irish, origin of the, 6. Nennius' account of them, 7

Celts, the weapons so called, 46, 47

Cennfaelad the learned, his law treatise, 35

Charlemont, the royalists defeated at, 355

Charlemont, lord, heads the delegates, 393. Adjourns the convention, 394

Charles I., his accession, 310. Subsidy offered by the Irish Catholics to him, 311. His duplicity, 311. Sold by his Scotch subjects, 320. Executed, 321

Charles II., lands in Scotland, and signs the Covenant, 323. His reign, 332

Chess played by the pre-Christian Celts, 103. And by the Danes, 103

CLO

Chichester, Sir Arthur, suggests the plantation of Ulster, 308. Requests the presidency of Ulster, 308. His plan, 309. His Parliament, 309. Retires from the government, 310

Christianity introduced into Ireland, 53, 54. Mission of St. Patrick, 55, 60

'Church of Christ,' the established religion of Ireland, 326

Churches, early, 96. Destruction of, by the Danes, 109. Of the Norman period, 254

Church-lands, sold, to enrich the royal coffers, 269

Cinel-Eoghain, their war with the Ulidians, 142

Circles, stone, of the Irish pagans, 40, 46

Clane, synod of, 151

Claneyboy, origin of the name of, 58

Clarence, duke of, brother of Edward IV., appointed lord justice, 241

Clanrickarde, Mac William de Burgo created earl of, 213. Besieges Athlone, 214

Clanrickarde, earl of, compels his two sons to make submission, 289

Clanrickarde, marquis of, administers the government of Ireland for Charles II., 323

Clare, Basilia de, her letter to Raymond le Gros, 177 *note*

Clare, Richard de, earl of Pembroke. *See* Strongbow

Clare, Thomas de, obtains a grant of Thomond, 209. His treachery to Roe O'Brien, 210. Defeated by O'Brien's son, 210. Slain, 210

Clare, lord, his part in the Union, 410

Clear, cape, St. Kieran's church at, 79

Clew bay, islands of, laid waste, 200

Clifford, Sir Conyers, defeated by O'Donnell, and killed, 301

Cloghan-na-Fomharaigh, the Celtic name of the Giant's Causeway, 10

Clonmacnois, church and monastery

CLO

- of, founded, 79. Laid waste by Felim, king of Cashel, 110. Pillaged by king Callaghan, 117. The great church robbed, 144. Again plundered, 188
- Clontarf, battle of, remote and immediate causes of the, 125. The battle, 131. Single combats and skirmishes on the eve of the battle, 132. Results of the battle, 134, 135
- Clynn, the annalist, at Kilkenny, 250. His work, 250
- Cnoc Patrick, St. Patrick at, 68
- Cogan, Miles de, his conduct in Dublin, 163. Invested with the government of Dublin, 164. Repulses Hosculf, 165. Accompanies FitzAldelm to Ireland, 179. Desmond granted to him, 182
- Coigley, father, arrested and executed, 403
- Coigne and livery, Sir P. Sidney's efforts to abolish, 343
- Coinage, the earliest known, 152
- Cologne, Irish monks at, 146
- Columba, St., king Diarmaid's treatment of, 72, 73. Copy of the Psalms in his handwriting, 73. At the convention of Drumceat, 73. His MSS., 82, 83
- Columbanus, St., notice of, 83. His mission to the Continent, 83-85. His letter to the Pope, 85
- Comgal, king, ravages Leinster, 76
- Comgall, St., his monastery at Bangor, 83
- Commerce of Ireland in the sixteenth century, 344
- Comyn, archbishop, appeals to Richard I. against Hamon de Valois, 187
- Con, king of Cashel, one of the compilers of the Brehon Laws, 92
- Conairé, king, slain by insurgents, 24
- Conairé II., king, 33
- Conang's Tower, 10
- Conchessa, mother of St. Patrick, 61
- Confey, battle of, 117
- Congal Caech, king of Ulster, kills king Sweeney Men, 75

COT

- Conn of the Hundred Battles, king, his exploits, 32. Roads made in his reign, 32, 33
- Connaught, rule of the Firbolgs in, 11. Ancient kingdom of, 59. Desolated by civil war, 187-189. Bestowed on Richard de Burgo, 197. Quarrel for the possession of, 197. Plundered, 198, 199. And nearly depopulated, 203. A commission of defective titles issued for, 312. The banishment to, 325-332. Punishments for not transplanting, 320
- Connor, son of Brian Boru, at the battle of Clontarf, 131
- Connor, battle of, 221
- Conor, Dun, fortress of, 10
- Conor MacNessa, king, reign of, 25. His death on the day of the crucifixion, 26
- Conor, son of king Flann, rebels, 117. Defeated by Nial Glunduv, 117
- Conry, Florence, afterwards archbishop of Tuam, joins Oviedo's expedition, 294. His foundation of the Irish college of Louvain, 340
- Coobar, heir-apparent of Tara, put to death by Amlaf the Dane, 112
- Cormac MacAirt, king, his early life, 33. His reign, 34. His code of laws, 34. His death, 35. Romantic stories told of him, 36. His state at Tara, 37
- Cormac MacCullinan, king of Munster, reign of, 114. His demands from the Eoghanists, 115. Defeats the king of Connaught, 115. Killed at Ballaghmoon, 116. His literary fame, 116. His 'Rule,' 117. His arrangement as to the succession, 119
- Cormac's chapel, on the Rock of Cashel, 255
- Cormacenn, the poet, his account of the circuit of Murtagh, 118
- Cornwallis, lord, sent to Ireland, 408. His character and abilities, 409
- Cottrell, Sir John, hanged, 227

COU

Coulragh, Sir Robert de, starved to death, 224
 Courcy, John de, settles in Meath, 58. Accompanies FitzAldelm de Burgo to Ireland, 179. His friend Sir Almaric, 180. His personal strength and bravery, 180. Claims Ulster, 180. Defeats the Northerns at Downpatrick, 180, 181. Defeated by O'Carrol, Dunlevy, and O'Flynn, 182. Marries Affrecar daughter of the king of Man, 182. Beaten also by O'Muldonry, 186. Escapes to Leinster, 186. His downfall, 189. Defeats the vice-roy at Down, 189. His death, 190
 Courtenay, Philip de, becomes justiciary, 231. Imprisoned, 231
 Craftin , the bard, 24
 Crannoges of the pagan Irish, 45
 Crimhthann Sciath-bel, Milesian chieftain, defeats the Britons of Fotharta, 19
 Crimhthann, king, 37
 Crinsthann Niadh    , king, reign of, 28
 Crofts, lord-deputy, leads an army into Ulster against the Scotch settlers, 271
 Cromlechs of the pagan Irish, 46
 Cromwell, Oliver, his campaigns in Ireland, 321. His generals, 321. His proclamations, 321, 322. Takes Drogheda, 322. And Wexford, 323. Returns to England, 323
 Cromwell's Slaughter-houses, 329
 Cronbroney, monastery of, destroyed in a storm, 78
 Crosby, Francis, his cruelties to the Catholics, 278. Commands the butchery at Mullamast, 292
 Crosses, stone, in Ireland, 96
 Cruithneans, or Picts. *See* Picts
 Cuan O'Lochlann, a poet, governs Ireland, 138
 Cuidrevn , battle of, 73
 Cusack, Sir Thomas, lord-deputy, 271. A member of the privy council, 271. Lord-chancellor, 273. His 'Book on the State of Ireland,' 273, *note*. Befriends Shane O'Neill, 282

DAN

Cusack, colonel, petitions against the violations of the treaty of Limerick, 375
 Cusacks, the, settle in Ireland, 57
 Customs of the pagan Irish, 44

DA DERGHA, destruction of the court at, 24

Daghda M  r, king, 14. His death, 15

Daire, king, one of the compilers of the Brehon Laws, 93

Dairin , princess, and her sister, story of, 30, 31

Dalariada, district of, 58. Origin of the name of, 58. Chief clans of, 58. Two large divisions of, 59

Dal-Cais, territory of, attacked by the Danes, 121

Dalrariadans, origin of their name, 70. Some of them settle in Scotland, 70. Opposed by the Picts, 70

Danes, their first raid in Ireland, 107. Their name, 108. Their barbarities, 109. Their favourite pastime of destroying churches and monasteries, 109. Defeated at Derry, 109. And at other places, 110. Their battles with the Norwegian invaders, 110, 111. Combination of both parties under Amlaf, or Olaff, 112. Oisill, 112. Defeated at Lough Foyle, 112. Defeat the Irish at Confey, 117. Driven into their fort of Ath-Cliath, 117. Rout the Irish forces at Rathfarnham, 117. And at Ardree, 118. Said to have been converted to Christianity, 119. Their guerilla war in Thomond, 120. And in Munster, 120. Defeated at Sulcoit, 121. And near Tara, 122. And again at Glen-Mama, 123. Dublin taken from them, 124. Their great defeat at Clontarf, 131-134. Their subjugation completed by king Malachy, 138. Become Christians, 138. Settle down to mercantile pursuits in their sea-port towns, 141

D'AQ

- D'Aquila, Don Juan, his expedition to Ireland, 302. Submits to Mountjoy, 304
- Darceys, the, settle in Ireland, 57
- Darcy, Dr. Patrick, joins the confederation of Kilkenny, 315
- Dathi, king, 37. His death, 37
- Davies, the, settle in Ireland, 57
- Davies, Sir John, sheriff of Ulster, 306. His opinion of the Irish people, 306
- Dearga, son of Lur, king of North Munster, 24
- Deisi, chieftains of, slain by the Danes, 112
- Delamere, lord, founds the convent of Multifarnham, 251
- Delvin wrested from the English, 194
- Dermot Mac Mael-na-mbo, king of Leinster, opposes Donough, king of Munster, 139. Killed in battle, 139
- Dermot O'Melaghlin, made king of Meath, 150
- Dermot Mac Murrough, king of Leinster, history of, 144. His character and exploits, 145. Asks Henry II. of England for assistance, 157. Goes to Henry in Aquitaine, 158. Obtains a letter of licence from him, 158. Returns with Strongbow and others, 159. Raises three thousand men, 160. Takes Ossory, 160. Gives his daughter Eva to Strongbow, 163. Marches to Dublin, 163. Marches to Meath, 164. His death, 164
- Derry, defeat of the Danes at, 109. Burned by O'Dogherty, 307. Great siege of, 351, 352
- Desmond, origin of the name, 57
- Desmond granted to Miles de Cogan, 182
- Desmond, creation of the peerage, of, 224, 225
- Desmond, earl of, imprisoned, 225. Released, 226. His quarrel with the viceroy, 227
- Desmond, Gerald, fourth earl of, appointed viceroy, 230
- Desmond, Thomas, eighth earl of, defeats the earl of Ormonde at

DON

- Pilltown, 241. Made viceroy, 241. Taken prisoner by O'Connor Faly, 241. His benefits to the nation, 242. Beheaded at Drogheda, 242
- Desmond, Maurice, ninth earl of, absent from the Parliament of Drogheda, 246
- Desmond, earl of, his feud with the earl of Ormonde, 283. Summoned to London, 283. Wounded and made prisoner, 283
- Desmond, earl of, his letter to lord Burleigh, 291. Hunted like a wild beast, 295. Assassinated, 295. His lands confiscated, 296
- Desmond, James, hanged and quartered, 294
- Desmonds, the, keep the succession to the throne of Munster in their own hands, 119
- Dervorgil, wife of O'Rourke, abduction of, by Dermot Mac Murrough, 145
- 'Diarmaid and Grainné, Pursuit of,' legend of, 36
- Diarmaid, son of Fergus, Ard-Righ, 71. His wars, 71. The last king resident at Tara, 71. His injustice, 72, 73. Defeated at Cuil-drevne, 73
- Dicho, St. Patrick's first convert, 63
- Dillon, father George, his account of the earl of Sussex's treachery, 275
- 'Dinnseanchus,' the, 19
- Disert Aengusa, church of, 80
- Dithorba, king, 22. Defeated by queen Macha, 22. Slain, 22
- Dobson, Eliphnd, the Dublin bookseller, 347
- Doire-Chuire, peace of, 205
- Domhnall, king, abbots and saints of the reign of, 77
- Domhnall, his combat with Plait the Dane, 132
- Domangart, St., monastery of, on Slieve Drewe, 6
- Domestic utensils of the pagan Irish, 47
- Donal, king, dies on a pilgrimage, 77

DON

- Donard, Slieve, origin of the name of, 6
- Donatus, St., bishop of Lecce, 86
- Donnell O'Brien becomes king of Man, but expelled, 142
- Donnell O'Neil, son of Murtagh, becomes king of Ireland, 118. His death, 122
- Donnell O'Loughlin becomes king of Ireland, 140. His wars with Murtough and the southern Hy-Nials, 140. His death, 143
- Donnell, son of the king of Meath, released from the Danes, 143
- Donnell, lord of Hy Faclin, killed, 145
- Donnell Oge, elected chieftain, 204
- Donough, son of king Flan, rebels, 117. Defeated by Nial Glundur, 117. Becomes king, 117. Killed by the Danes, 118
- Donough, son of Brian Boru, plunders Leinster, 130, 136. Becomes king of Munster, 138. Marries a sister of king Harold of England, 138. Instigates the death of his brother Teigue, 139. Takes steps to assert his claim to Irish sovereignty, 139. Opposed by king Dermot Mac Mael-na-mbo, 139. Assembles his clergy and chieftains at Killaloe, 139. Defeated by his nephew, Turlough, 139. Goes to Rome, and dies, 139
- Donough O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, 150. Excommunicated and deposed, 150
- Donovan, son of king Cathal, joins the Danes, 121. Joins a conspiracy against his king, 121. Who is murdered in Donovan's house, 122
- Dowdall, John, murdered by Vernon, 234
- Down, battle of, 189
- Downpatrick, defeat of the Irish near, 205
- Dress of the ancient Irish, 47, 48. Yellow the prevailing hue, 48. Dress of the bards, 48. Of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, 97, 98. Of the Norman period,

DUB

256. Of the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, 348
- Driella, daughter of earl Godwin, marries king Donough, 138
- Drogheda, castle of, retained by king John, 193. Scotch pirates at, 234. Parliament at, 245. Convent of St. Mary Magdalene at, founded, 249. Besieged and taken by Cromwell, 322. The people put to the sword, 322
- Drumale, grandson of king Malachy, killed, 128
- Drumceat, assembly of the estates at, 73
- Drury, Sir William, lord-deputy, 294. His death, 294. His cruelties, 294. Hangs a Brehon of O'More's, 343
- Dubhcenn, son of the Dane Ivar, joins a conspiracy against king Mahoun, 121
- Dublin, plundered by the Danes, 110. The Danes of, besieged by king Malachy in, 123. Taken by him, 124. Besieged by Brian Boru, but the siege raised, 128. Taken from the Danes, 136. Submits to Turlough O'Connor, 143. Taken by Maurice Fitz-Gerald, 161. Revolts, 163. Massacre in, by treachery, 163. Government given to Miles de Cogan, 164. Who repulses Hosculf, 165. The Anglo-Normans besieged in, by king Roderic, who retires in a panic, 165, 166. Attacked by the lord of Breffni, 167. King Henry spends his Christmas in, 169. Made over to Bristol, 172. Hugh de Lacy made governor, 172. A synod held at, 181. The abbey of St. Thomas the martyr founded at, 181. Scotch pirates at, 234. St. Mary's abbey in, 248. St. Saviour's, 249. Monastery of Franciscans in, 251. Trade of, in the Norman period, 257. Spoliation of the churches of, under Henry VIII., 269. The castle repaired and beautified by Sir H. Sidney, 343. Erection of various buildings in the city, 344.

DUB

- The post-office established, 346.
 The booksellers of Castle Street, 347. Opposition to a legislative union in, in 1759, 380. Prosperity of the city in the last century, 392. Placed under martial law, 403
 Dubtach, druid and bard, honours St. Patrick at Tara, 65, 68
 Duke, John, mayor of Dublin, routs the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, 234
 Duleek, the Normans driven from the castle of, 175
 Dunbolg, meaning of the name, 74
 Dunboy castle, besieged and taken, 304
 Dunbrody, monastery of, founded, 183, 249
 Duncan at the monastery of St. Remigius at Rheims, 146
 Duncheadh, St., abbot of Clonmacnois, his miracles and death, 146
 Dundalk, battle of, 221
 Dundalk, synod of, 272
 Dungannon, Con O'Neill, lord, 272. His death, 273
 Dunlevy, chief of Ulidia, defeats De Courcy, 182
 Dunlevys, the, of Meath, 58
 Dunmohr, fort of, 45
 Dun-na-Sciath, residence of the kings of Meath, 56. Sometimes the residence of the Ard-Righ, 72. Burned by Brian Boru, 123
 Duv-gaill, or Black Gentiles, their invasion, 111

ECCLESIASTICAL affairs in the fifth to the seventh centuries, 88-91. In the eighth to the eleventh centuries, 146. Of the Norman period, 248-252. In the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, 338
 Edgecumbe, Sir Richard, sent to Ireland by Henry VII., 243
 Education forbidden by the Danes, 109
 Edward I. succeeds to the throne of England, 208
 Edward VI. causes the liturgy to be read in English in Ireland,

ETH

272. Annexes the primacy of Ireland to the see of Dublin, 272
 Egfrid, king of Northumbria, pillages the Irish coasts, 76. Killed, 76
 Elim, king, his unprosperous reign, 30
 Elizabeth, queen, insists upon enforcing the Reformation, 275. Her displeasure at the plan for poisoning O'Neill, 281
 Emhain, fortress of, founded, 22
 Emmet, Robert, arrested, 403
 Enda, St., his monastery in Aran of the saints, 80. St. Brendan's visit to him, 81
 Eniskilleners, commanded by colonel Walseley, 353. Their cruelties, 353
 Eochaidh, son of Ere, king, defeated and killed by the Tuatha Dé Dananns, 11
 Eochaidh Ollathar, king, his reign and burial-place, 15
 Eochaidh, king of Leinster, marries king Tuathal's two daughters, 30, 31
 Eoghanists, the, refuse king Cormac's demands, 115. Join the Dalcassians against the Danes, 120
 Eraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, his interview with Henry II., 184
 Eremon, Milesian king of Ireland, 18, 19. Defeats his brother Eber, 19. His death and burial-place, 19, 22
 Eric, or fine, law of, made, 32. The compensation for murder, 95
 Esmondes, the, settle in Leicester, 58
 Essex, Robert Devereux, earl of, his viceroyalty, 301. His interview with O'Neill, 302. Arrested and executed, 302
 Essex, Walter Devereux, earl of, grants of territory to, 287. His expedition to Ireland, 287, 288. His enemies, 288. His treachery, 288. His death, 288
 Ethnea, princess, converted by St. Patrick, 66, 67

EUS

- Eustaces, the, settle in Leicester, 58
 Evehy Felia, king, reign of, 24.
 Divides Ireland into five provinces, 24
 Exports forbidden, 345
- F**AIRS in Dublin and Waterford, 345
 Falkland, viscount, lord-deputy, 310. His acts, 311. Recalled, 311
 Famine in 765, 77. In 1050, 139. In 1224, 198. In 1739, 377
 Fanghard, battle of, 223
 Fauna and flora of Ireland, 48
 Feargal, king, ravages Leinster, 76. Killed at Almhain, 76
 Felemy, or the law-maker, king, reign of, 32
 Felim, king of Cashel, plunders Leinster, 110
 Feni, or Fenians, origin of the name, 17
 Fenian militia of Finn Mac Coole, 35, 36
 Fenian poems of the court of Finn Mac Coole, 35, 36
 Ferdoragh, illegitimate son of Con O'Neill, 272. Murdered, 273
 'Ferghil the Geometer,' 86
 Fergus, son of Leide, king of Ulster, 24
 Fergus Mac Nessa, king, reign of, 25. Marries queen Meav and abdicates, 25
 Fergus the Eloquent, poems attributed to him by Macpherson, 36
 Fergus, son of Erc, becomes king of Scotland, 70
 Fermoy, defeat of the English at, 316
 Ferns, treaty of, 160. The hostages put to death, 164
 Fethlimia, princess, converted by St. Patrick, 66, 67
 Fiace, the poet, converted by St. Patrick, 68
 Fiace, disciple of St. Patrick, 61. His biography of the saint, 61
 Fiacha of the White Cattle, king, killed, 30

FIT

- Fiacha, king, 37
 Fiachra, the warrior, 59
 Fiacre, St., converts multitudes in France, 85. His monastery near Meaux, 86. Gives name to the French hackney coaches, 86
 Fingall, plain of, 56
 Fingall, or White Gentiles, their invasion of Ireland, 107-110
 Fingen, St., at Metz, 146
 Finn Mac Coole, king, his reign, 35. His militia, 35. His poems, 36
 Finnachta Fleadhach, king, his reign, 75. Remits the Boromean tribute, and retires into a monastery, 75
 Finnian, St., of Clonard, his school, 80
 Finshunneay burned by the Danes, 108
 Firbolgs, the, 10. Origin of their name, 10. Their invasion of Ireland, 10. Identified with the Belge, 10. Divide Ireland into five provinces, 11. Defeated by the Tuatha Dé Dananns, 11, 12
 Fire-worship in pagan Ireland, 38
 Fithir, princess, and her sister, story of, 30, 31
 Fitton, Sir Edward, appointed president of Connaught, 286. Arrests the earl of Clanricarde, 286
 FitzEstevane, Robert, accompanies FitzAldelm to Ireland, 179
 FitzEustace, becomes lord-treasurer, 243
 FitzGerald, family of, their quarrels with the Burkes, 212. Account of them, 213
 FitzGerald, baron of Offaly, his quarrel with De Vesci, 214
 FitzGerald, lord Edward, his denunciation of the conduct of Parliament, 392. Joins the United Irishmen, 400. Goes to France for assistance, 401. His arrest and death, 403
 FitzGerald, Gerald, son of the earl of Kildare, appointed treasurer for Ireland, 247
 FitzGerald, Maurice, accompanies Strongbow to Ireland, 159. Meets

FIT

- the king of Ireland at Wexford, 161. Takes Dublin, 161
- FitzGerald, Maurice, viceroy of Ireland, meets Henry III. in Wales, 204. Deprived of his office, 204. His conflict with O'Donnell, 204. His death, 204
- FitzGerald, Maurice, wages war against Burke, 205
- FitzGerald, Maurice, his Franciscan monastery at Youghal, 249, 250
- FitzGerald, Thomas, holds the office of chancellor, 243
- FitzGerald, lord Thomas, renounces his allegiance, 264. Rebels, 264. Excommunicated, 265. Surrenders at Maynooth, 265. Hanged at Tyburn, 265
- FitzGerald, Sir William, appointed lord-deputy, 287. Complains of the powers granted to the earl of Essex, 287
- Fitz Henri, Meiller, appointed governor of Ireland, 187
- FitzMaurice, Gerald, taken prisoner, 211
- FitzMaurice, James, collects troops and assistance for the Irish Catholics, 292. Killed by the Burkes, 294
- FitzMaurice, Thomas, appointed justiciary, 215
- FitzNicholas kills Dermot MacCarthy on the bench, 226. Taken prisoner, 226
- FitzStephen, Robert, accompanies Strongbow to Ireland, 159. His bravery, 159. Establishes the first English colony, 159. Besieged in Wexford, and surrenders, 166
- FitzThomas, John, killed, 205
- FitzWilliam, Sir William, becomes lord-president, 297. His cruelties, 298
- FitzWilliam, earl, his viceroyalty, 397
- Flahertach, king, retires to Armagh, 77
- Flahertach, abbot, advises king Cormack to go to war, 115. His subsequent life, 116
- Flann, king of Ireland, 113. Defeats king Cormac MacCullinan

GAV

- at Ballaghmoon, 116. Rebellion of his sons, 117. His death, 117
- Flann, son of Brian Born, at the battle of Clontarf, 131
- Foillan, St., accompanies St. Fursey, 86
- Fomorians, the, 9, 10. Their invasion of Ireland, 9. Their defeat of the Neimhidians, 9, 10
- Fontaines, St. Columbanus's monastery at, 83
- Fontenoy, the Irish brigade at, 380
- Food of the fifth to the seventh centuries, 98, 99. In the seventeenth century, 349
- Forts, construction of early Irish, 97
- Fothadh na Canoine, the bard, 89
- Fotharta settled by Britons, 19. Who are expelled by the Milesians and Picts, 19
- 'Four Masters, Annals of the,' 5. Account of the work, 339
- Fridolin, St., 'the traveller,' evangelises Thuringia, 87
- Funeral rites of the Irish pagans, 40. Keening, 46
- Furnival, lord, becomes lord-deputy, 236. Captures a number of chieftains, 236
- Fursey, St., his monastery near Burgh Castle, 86. Received Sigbert, king of the East Angles, 86. His death and burial-place, 86

GAEDHILL, Gael, origin of the word, 17

- Gall, St., evangelises Switzerland, 85
- Gall, or Gaill, the Danes so called by the Irish, 107
- Gallen, in King's County, meaning of the name, 77
- Galway, bloody assizes of, 296. Besieged and taken by Ludlow, 324. Besieged and taken by Ginkell, 365
- Gann, Firbolg ruler of South Munster, 11
- Gavelkind (gavail-kinne), law of in Ireland, 95
- Gaveston, Piers, appointed viceroy, 217. Recalled, 218

GEA

- Geanaun, Firbolg ruler of Con-naught, 11
 Géisill, battle of, 19
 Geneville, Geoffrey, marches into Offaly, and is defeated, 211
 Geoffrey, archdeacon of Norwich, king John's punishment of, 192
 George II., reign of, 377. Irish policy of the reign of, 377. His death, 380
 George III., events of the reign of, 380
 Geraldine, John, allies himself with the expedition from Spain, 293. Takes command of the force, 294. Killed, 295
 Geraldines, the, defeated in Thomond, 205. And at Kilgarvan, 205
 Germanus, St., bishop of Auxerre, his mission to Britain, 54. Has charge of St. Patrick, 62
 Gertrude, St., her community at Nivelle, 86
 Giant's Causeway, Celtic name of the, 10
 Gillamochalmog rises against the Normans, 175
 Ginkell, general De, has command of William's army, 361. Besieges Athlone, 361. Gains the battle of Aghrim, 364. Besieges and takes Galway, 365
 Giraldus Cambrensis, his account of Ireland under the Normans, 173. Appointed tutor to prince John, 184
 Glanville, Ramsey de, accompanies prince John to Ireland, 184
 Glass, painted, in use at Kilkenny, 255
 Glastonbury, Irish monks at, 146
 Glamorgan, tries to make a secret treaty with the Catholics, 319. Imprisoned, but released, 319
 Gleann-Scioithin, grave of Scota in, 17
 Glendalough, monastery of, 80
 Glen-Mama, defeat of the Danes at, 123, 127
 Glynn's, the, a district of Dalariada, 59

HEN

- Goldsmiths' work of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, 97, 98
 Gormanstons, the, settle in Ireland, 57
 Gormflaith marries Brian Boru, 124. Her three husbands, 126. Joins the Danes against Brian, 128. Causes of her 'grimness,' 128
 Gormgal, St., of Ardvilean, his death, 147
 Gosford, lord, his declaration, 399
 Grainné, princess, story of, 36. Her parents, 37
 Grange, New, mound of, 15
 Grant, Sir William, hanged, 227
 Grattan, Henry, his demand for Irish independence, 387, 388. His protest against the Union, 417
 Grey, lord, lord-deputy, his slaughter of the garrison of the Fort del Ore, 294. Severity of his administration, 295, 296. Recalled, 296. Inventory of his household effects, 347
 Grey, John de, bishop of Norwich, appointed viceroy of Ireland, 193. His bridge and castle at Athlone, 193
 Groves, sacred, of the pagan Irish, 39
 Guaire, king of Connaught, at war with the Ard-Righ, 71
- HAMILTON**, general, besieges Derry, 351. Wounded and taken prisoner at the Boyne, 358
 Harold, king of England, borrows ships from king Donough, 142
 Harolt, the Dane, slain by Brian Boru, 122
 Harolt, son of Olaf Cuaran, slain, 123
 Hatton, Sir C., obtains grants of land, 296
 Harp, the Irish, 101. Remarkable specimen of a, at Ullard, 102. Brian Boroimh's, in Trinity College, 103
 Hebrides, origin of the name, 71
 Henry II., king of England, asked by Dermot MacMurrough for as-

HEN

- sistance, 157. Granted a papal bull, giving him the right to invade Ireland, 157. Gives Dermot a letter of licence, 158. Forbids reinforcements to be sent to Ireland, and summons Strongbow to return, 164, 165. Receives Strongbow, 167. Goes to Ireland, 167. Homage done him by the chiefs, 168. His character, 169. Spends his Christmas in Dublin, 169. His arrangement for the government of Ireland, 172. Returns to England, 173. His troubles in Normandy, 175. Refuses to fulfil his vow to go to Palestine, 184. His interview with Eraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, 184. His death, 186. His last moments, 186
- Henry III. succeeds to the throne, 195. His favourites, 200. His death, 208
- Henry IV. sends his son, the duke of Lancaster, to Ireland, 233
- Henry V., king of England, ascends the throne, 234
- Henry VI., king of England, succeeds to the throne, 235
- Henry VII., king of England, his interview with the earl of Kildare, 246
- Henry, prince (afterwards king Henry VIII.), made viceroy, 247
- Henry, of London, archbishop of Dublin, appointed viceroy, 193. His part in obtaining Magna Charta, 193. Sent to Rome, 193. His sobriquet of Scorch Villain, 196. His rapacity checked, 197
- Herodotus, his account of the Phœnicians, 7, 8
- High Commission Court established, 313
- Hoche, general, expedition of the French under, 400
- Holy Cross, abbey of, in Tipperary, foundation of, 249
- Horm, the Danish general, his defeat of the Norwegians, 113
- Hoseulf, governor of Dublin, revolts, 163. Flies to the Orkneys, 164. Raises a force, and besieges Dublin, 165. Put to death, 165

IRE

- Household effects of the sixteenth century, 347
- Houses of the sixteenth century, 347, 348
- Howards, the, settle in Leicester, 58
- Hugh the Red, king, 22
- Hugh, son of Aimmire, Ard-Righ, 73. Killed at Dunbolg, 74
- Hugh Allan, king of Ireland, devastates Leinster, 76. Kills Hugh, son of Colgan, king of Leinster, 76. His verses in praise of St. Samhthann, 76
- Hugh, son of Comgal, king of Ireland, killed, 76
- Hugh Finnliath, king of Ireland, defeats the Danes at Lough Foyle, 112. Joins them, and overruns Meath, 113. Breaks his treaty with them, and turns against them vigorously, 113. His death, 113
- Humbert, general, expedition of, 408
- Hurley, archbishop, his cruel death, 300
- Hymns of the Irish monks, 100
- Hy-Nials, wars of the northern and southern, 140-142

ILLUMINATING, art of, in the fifth to the seventh centuries, 88, 99

Inauguration of a chieftain of a province, 151

Iniscealtra, church of, founded, 125

'Inis Fah-len, Annals of,' 4

Invasions of Ireland, the five great, 5, 9

Iona, tombs of the Irish kings at, 77

Ireland, materials for the history of, 1-3. Traditionary history of, 5. The various names of, 7 *note*, 15. The five great invasions of, 9. Divided into five provinces by the Fírbolgs, 11. Landing of the Picts, 19. Who go to North Britain, 19. Divided into twenty-five provinces, 23. Again divided into five provinces, 24. Visit of

IRE

St. Patrick, 60 *et seq.* Desolated by the plague, 71, 75. Bede's account of Ireland in 656, 75. Devastated by Egfrid, king of Northumbria, 76. Foreigners in Ireland, 77. Invasions of the Danes, 107-117. Who are defeated at Clontarf, 131. Famine of 1050, 139. Interregnum and anarchy, 140. Plague of 1096, 140. Invasion of Magnus and his northmen, 141. The Anglo-Norman invasion, 157. Landing of Strongbow, 159. Arrival of Henry II., 167. State of the country at this time, 168. Henry's arrangements, 172. How the country was governed by the Norman nobles, 173. Visit of prince John, 184. Who is confirmed lord of Ireland, 186. Regulations of Henry III. for the office of viceroy or justiciary of Ireland, 195. Tallage or tax levied, 195. Complications of Irish government, 211. The English possessions in Ireland at the close of the thirteenth century, 215. Campaign of Edward Bruce, 221. Visitation of the Black Death, 227. Enactment of the Statute of Kilkenny, 229. Position of the Irish of English descent, 235. State of the revenue and expenses, in 1441, 237. Forays of the Irish in 1466, 242. Report on the state of Ireland in 1515, 262. Failure of the attempt to introduce the Reformation into Ireland, 266. Scheme to extirpate the Irish, 268. Persecution of the Catholics, 269. Lord-chancellor Cusack's 'Book on the State of Ireland,' 273 *note*. Revolts of the Irish chieftains, 279. Sir H. Sidney's visitation of Munster and Connaught, 283. Opposition of the lords of the Pale to the English government, 290. Military abuses at this time, 291. Landing of an expedition from Spain, 293. Rebellion of 1593, 299. Vicerealty of the earl of

JAM

Essex, 301. Irish policy of James I., 305. Plantation of Ulster, 308. Confederation of Kilkenny, 315. Cromwell's campaigns, 321. State of the country in 1653, 324. Expatriation of thirty-four thousand men to the Continent, 325. The banishment to Connaught, 325. Sir W. Petty's account of Ireland in the seventeenth century, 349. Struggle between William of Orange and James II., 350. Dean Swift's letters, 376. State of the country during the reign of George II., 377. Irish independence demanded by Grattan, 387. Distress of 1777, 388, 390. The revenue in 1783, 391. Rapid progress of the country from 1782 to 1800, 392. Origin of the United Irishmen, 395. The rebellion of 1798, 402. Union of Great Britain and Ireland, 409. Ireton in command of the army in Ireland, 323. Takes Limerick, 324. His death, 324. Isserninus accompanies St. Patrick into Ireland, 63. Settled as bishop at Kilcullen, 64. Ita, St., notice of her, 81. Ith, son of Breogain, his journey to Ireland, 16. Slain, 17. Ivar, Danish chief of Limerick, attacks Dal-Cais, 121. Loses Limerick, and conspires against king Mahoun, 121.

JACKSON, W., his mission, 397. His end, 397.

James I., his accession, 305. His persecution of Puritans and Catholics, 305. His Irish proclamation, 305.

James II., accession of, 335. His difficulties, 335, 336. Birth of his son, 336. His flight to France, 337. Lands at Kinsale, 350, 351. Makes Tyreconnel a duke, 351. Summons a Parliament at Dublin, 351. Goes to the siege of Derry, but returns to Dublin, 351. His acts, 353. De-

JOHN

feat of his party at Newtown-butler, 353. And at other places, 355. His force for the campaign of 1690, 356. Meets William's forces on the banks of the Boyne, 356. Loses the battle, 359. Sails for France, 359

John, king, made king of Ireland when a child, 181. His visit to Ireland when prince, 184. Confirmed as lord of Ireland by Richard I., 186. Ascends the throne, and appoints a governor for Ireland, 187. His kingdom placed under an interdict, 191. Excommunicated, 192. Visits Ireland, 192. Returns to Wales, 193. His death, 195

Justiciary, regulations of Henry III. for defining the powers of the, 196

KEATING, his account of the origin of the Irish Celts, 6, 7. His history of Ireland, 339
Keatings, the, settle in Leinster, 58

Kells, synod of, 150

Kenlis, battle of, 233

Kennedy, king of Thomond, joins Callahan against the Danes, 120

Kesar, granddaughter of Noah, her traditionary invasion of Ireland, 5. Supposed site of her tomb, 5

Key, Lough, castle of the rock of, taken, 200

Kieran, St., founds the church and monastery of Clonmacnois, 79

Kieran, St., of Saighir, 79. Founds the monastery of Seir-Kieran, 79

Kildare, St. Brigid at, 71. Origin of the name, 71. Defeat of the Danes at, 110

Kildare, earl of, becomes lord-justice, 241. Condemned, but escapes to England, 242. Holds the office of lord-deputy, 243. Charged with treason, 246. Pardon, 246. Restored to his office of deputy, 246, 247. His letter to the Gherardini of Tuscany, 247

LAC

Kildare, Gerald, ninth earl of, appointed lord-deputy, 261. His enemies, 262. Hated by Wolsey, 262. Imprisoned in the Tower of London, 264. His death, 265
Kildare, Gerald, tenth earl of, restored, 273

Kilgarvan, battle of, 205

Kilian, St., his mission and martyrdom, 86

Kilkenny, Parliament summoned at, 217

Kilkenny, Statute of, enacted, 229, 253. Statute of, confirmed, 246. Convent of, founded, 250. Synod of, 314. Confederation of, 315. Declares itself a provisional government, 314. Officers of the Confederation, 315. Members for each province, 315. Division of the Confederates, 319. End of the Confederation, 320

Killaloe, church of, founded, 125. Assembly of clergy and chieftains at, 139

Kilmainham burned by Brian Boru, 130

Kinbay, king, 22. Marries queen Macha, 22

Kincora, Brian Boru's fortress of, his 'happy family' at, 125. Destroyed, 143

Kings of Ireland, pagan restrictions and observances of the, 40. The Ard-Righ chosen from the kings of Meath, 56

Kinsale, earl of, captured by O'Connor of Offaly, 233. Siege of, 303. Battle of, 303. Landing of James II. at, 350

Knights of the Royal Branch, foundation of the, 25

LACY, Gislebert de, retained by king John as hostage, 193

Lacy, Hugh de, Meath granted by Henry II. to, 57. Dispossesses the native princes, 57. Made governor of Dublin, 172. Meath granted anew to him, 181. Appointed viceroy, 182. Marries a daughter of the king of Ire-

LAC

- land, 182. Deprived, but reinstated, 183. Supplanted by Philip of Worcester, 183. His death, 185
- Lacy, Hugh de, appointed lord-justice, 186. Becomes earl of Ulster, 191. Carrickfergus castle taken by the king from his people, 193. Pardoned and recalled, 195. His death, 202
- Lacy, John de, joins Edward Bruce, 223. Starved to death, 224
- Lacy, Walter de, seizes John de Courcy, 189. Recovers his father's property, 193
- Lacys, de, settle in Meath, 58
- Laeghairé, king, murdered, 23. His interment, 40
- Laeghairé, king, reign of, 53. His indignation with St. Patrick, 64. Public discussion before him, 65. His daughters baptized, 66, 67
- Lake, general, appointed to the command in Ireland, 402. Defeats the insurgents at Vinegar Hill, 406
- Lancaster, Thomas, duke of, sent to Ireland as viceroy, 233. His difficulties, 234
- Lancaster, house of, its wars with the Yorkists, 236, 240
- Land, tenure of, in Ireland, 95
- Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, his letter to king Turlough O'Brien, 147
- Language of the pagan Irish, 41. Compared with modern Irish, 43
- Lateran, third general council of, Irish prelates at, 183. And at the fourth council, 194
- Law, English, introduced into Ireland, 252
- Laws of king Cormac MacAirt, 34. The Brehon Laws, 91
- Leinster, rule of the Firbolgs in, 11. Origin of the name, 24 *note*. Counties comprised in the ancient kingdom of, 57. Anglo-Norman settlers in, 58. Ravaged, 76. Plundered by Danes, 112. Governed by a Danish king, 126. Plundered by king Malachy, 123. And by Donough, son of Brian Boru, 130

LUT

- Leix, the English defeated in, 234
- Leix, Irish family of, butchered, 292
- Lerins, insula beata, visited by St. Patrick, 62
- Levellers, or Whiteboys, commencement of the, 381
- Lia Fail, or stone of destiny, the famous, 16
- Limerick taken from the Danes, 121. Besieged and taken by Ireton, 324. Occupied by the royalists under Tyreconnel, 359. Besieged by William of Orange, but the siege raised, 359-361. Re commencement of the siege, 365. Surrendered, 366
- Limerick, treaty of, 366, 367. Confirmed, 369. Petitions against violations of the treaty, 370
- Lionel, third son of Edward III., appointed viceroy, 228. His conduct in Ireland, 228. Becomes duke of Clarence, 229. Holds a Parliament at Kilkenny, at which the Statute of Kilkenny is passed, 229
- Lismore, the Curia Regis of Henry II. at, 172
- Livin, St., his mission to Flanders and Brabant, 86
- Loftus, Dr. Adam, Protestant archbishop of Armagh, his persecution of the Catholics, 277. Made lord-deputy, 296. His cruelty, 300. Founds Trinity College, Dublin, 340
- Lore, king, 23. Killed, 23
- Lorcan, king of Leinster, seized by Murtagh, 118
- Louvain collection, the, 90
- Louvain, Irish college of, 340
- 'Lowry of the Ships,' the Milesian chieftain so called, 23
- Lowther, chief justice of the Common Pleas, his fees of defective titles, 313
- Lucy, Sir Anthony de, sent to Ireland, 225. Attempts to pacify the nobles, 225. Recalled, 225
- Ludlow, takes Galway, 324
- Lughaidh, king, his reign, 70. Killed by lightning, 70
- Luttrell, Henry, his perfidy, 365

LUX

Luxeuil, St. Columbanus's monastery at, 83

Lynch, John, bishop of Killala, his career, 339. Usher's account of him, 339

MAC ART, Cormac, his supposed work 'Saltair of Tara,' 5
Maccallin, St., founds a school in France, 146

MacCarthy, Cormac, obtains Desmond, 143

MacCarthy, slays Gerald Roche, 205

MacCarthy, Dermot, killed on the bench, 226

MacCarthy, of Desmond, does homage to Henry II., 168

MacCarthy, Fineen, defeats the Geraldines at Kilgarvan, 205. Killed, 205

Mac Coll, grandson of Daghdha Mór, 15

MacCon, the usurper, reign of, 33

Macha, queen, reign of, 22

Machdaighron, smothered by the Danes, 112

MacDonalds, the, of Reuta, earls of Antrim, 59

Mac Firbis, Duaid, his 'Chronicum Scotorum,' 5

MacGowans, the, of Meath, 58

Mac Grené, grandson of Daghdha Mór, 15

MacGuire, the, of Meath, 58

Mac Keat, grandson of Daghdha Mór, 15

'Mac Manus, Shanat, Annals of,' 5

MacMurrroughs, kings of Leinster, 57

MacMurrrough, Art, 232. Richard II. marches against him, 233. Ravages Wexford, 234. Defeated by Sir Stephen Scroope, 234. Defeats the English at Wexford, 235. His death, 235

MacMurrrough, Donough, imprisoned in the Tower of London, 235. Released, 236

MacNamara, attacked by the English and Irish, 226

Macgualai, son of the king of Munster, killed by the Danes, 112

MAN

MacImuire, archbishop of Cashel, at Aengus Grove synod, 147

Maelmurra, Danish king of Leinster, 126. His quarrel with prince Murrough, 127. Returns home and raises his clan, 127. Musters his forces in Dublin, 128. Commands the centre at Clontarf, 129

Maen, the Milesian, 'Lowry of the Ships,' 23. His romantic story, 23, 24. His reign, 24

Magh-Rene, synod of, 89

Magnus, his invasion of Ireland, 141

Mahoun, king of Munster, 120. At war with the Danes in Thomond, 120. His interview with his brother Brian, 120. Conspiracy against him, 121. Murdered in the house of his host, 122

Mailduf, St., 86

Malachy, king of Leth Cuinn, defeats the Danes near Tara, 122. Besieges them in Dublin, 123. Insults the Dalcassians, who make reprisals, 123. Defeats Brian Boru in battle, 123. Obtains the 'collar of gold,' 123. Deposed by Brian Boru, 124. Attacked by O'Rourke, 128. His son killed, 128. Replaced on the throne on the death of Brian, 137. Completes the subjugation of the Danes, 138. His death, 138

Malachy, St., appointed to the see of Armagh, 148. Sketch of his life, 148, 149. Goes to Rome, 149. His visit to St. Bernard of Clairvaux, 149. Returns to Ireland as legate, and restores and rebuilds churches and monasteries, 149. Convoques the synod of Inis Padraig, 149. His death at Clairvaux, 150. Appointed papal legate, 183

Malby, Sir Nicholas, commands the English army, 294

Malmsbury, origin of the name of, 86

Man, Isle of, invaded by the Danes, 108. Sends a deputation to ask for a king, 142

MAN

- Mandeville, Sir Richard, slays the earl of Ulster, 225
- Mangerton mountain, battle of, 205
- Manufactures, Irish, of the Norman period, 257
- Manufactures, state of the, in 1783, 390
- March, earl of, becomes justiciary, 231. His conduct, 231
- March, Edward Mortimer, earl of, becomes lord-deputy, 235. His death, 235
- Marianus Scotus, teaches at Cologne, 146
- Marisco, Geoffrey de, lord-justice, 191, 195. His treachery to the earl of Pembroke, 201. Banished, 202. His death, 202. His salary, 209
- Marisco, John de, made justiciary of Ireland, 204. Goes with an expedition into Connaught, 205
- Marisco, William de, son of the lord-justice, his conference with Hugh O'Conner, 198
- Marisco, William de, son of Geoffrey, attempts the life of Henry III., 202
- Matrimony, abuses of the sacrament of, 147, 148
- Maud Plantagenet, her husband, the earl of Ulster, murdered, 225. Marries Sir Ralph Ufford, 227. Who dies suddenly, 227. Leaves Ireland, 227
- Maynooth Castle, siege of, 265
- Mayo, origin of the name, 77
- McCracken, Henry, executed, 407
- Meath, ancient kingdom of, 56, 58. Invaded by king Callaghan, 117. Granted anew to Hugh de Lacy, 181. Ravaged by De Lacy and O'Neill, 197. State of, in 1576, 284
- Meav, queen, marries king Oilíoll, 24. And afterwards Fergus Mac Nessa, 25. Her reign, 26-28. Story of her cattle, 27
- Mellifont abbey built, 149, 248. Synod of, 150
- Meloughlin, king of Meath, defeats and kills Turgesius, the Norwegian pirate, 110. His death,

MOY

113. His embassy to Charles the Bald, 113
- Milcho, St. Patrick's master, 60. His fate, 64
- Milesians, their invasion of Ireland, 16. Route taken by them, 16. Account of the invasion as given by the Four Masters, 17. History of the Milesian kings of Ireland, 21. Milesian Christian kings of the pentarchy period, 70
- Military architecture of the Norman period, 255
- Mis, Slieve, battle of, 17, 18
- Missionaries of the fifth and sixth centuries, 78
- Moirá, meaning of the name, 75
- Molloy, son of king Braun, joins the Danes, 121. Joins a conspiracy against his king, 121. Slain by Brian Boru, 122
- Monasteries, Irish, regulations or canons and literary labours of the inmates of, 88-90. Destroyed by the Danes as a pastime, 109
- Money in early times in Ireland, 99. Of the eighth to the eleventh centuries, 152
- Monroe, Henry, executed, 407, 408
- Montemarisco, Herve de, lands near Wexford, 162. Removed, 175. Resumes his command, 175. Found the monastery of Dunbrody, and dies a monk of Canterbury, 183
- More, colonel Charles MacCarthy, surrenders Carrickfergus, 353
- Moriath, the princess, story of, and king Maen, 24
- Morris, Sir John, summons a Parliament, but fails, 227
- Mortimer, Roger, becomes justiciary, 231. And viceroy, 232
- Mothla, his command at Clontarf, 131
- Mountcashel, lord, taken prisoner and escapes to France, 353
- Mountgarret, lord, chosen president of the Catholic council at Kilkenny, 315
- Mountjoy, lord, viceroy of Ireland, 302. Besieges Kinsale, 303
- Moyturé, battle of, 14, 15

MSS

- MSS., Irish, in existence, 2. Of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, 91, 99. Destroyed by the Danes, 109, 113. A MS. given for a ransom, 241
- Muikertach, son of king Nial, his character, 117. *See* Murtagh
- Muikertach, chief of Wicklow, blinded, 145
- Mullaghmast, battle of, 136
- Mullamast, treacherous murder of Irish at, 292
- Mulrooney of the Paternosters, his command at Clontarf, 132
- Multifarnham, convent of, founded, 251
- Munster, rule of the Firbolgs in, 11. Origin of the name of, 57. Division of, 57. Divided by Turlough O'Connor, 143. Condition of, in 1567, 283
- Murder, law of compensation for, 94
- Murphy, father John, joins the insurgents of 1798, 405. Killed, 405
- Murrough, son of Brian Boru, quarrels with king Maelmurra, 127. Joins his father against the Danes, 128. His valour at Clontarf, 133. His death, 133
- Murtagh Druw, killed, 141
- Murtagh, Muikertach, son of king Nial, 117. Makes his celebrated circuit of Ireland, 118. Slain by Blacaire, at Ardree, 118
- Murtogh O'Malaghlin, king of Meath, dispossessed by Hugh de Lacy, 56
- Murtough O'Loughlin, king of Ireland, at the synod of Mellifont, 150. Makes a gift to the abbey, 150
- Murtough, son of king Turlough, made lord of the Danes of Dublin, 139. Makes war against the northern Hy-Nialls, 140. Devastates the North, 141. Makes peace with the new northern invaders, 141. Makes a gift to the cathedral of Armagh, 142. Gives a king to the people of Man, 142. Resigns his throne through ill-health, 142. Dies, 142
- Music, fame of the Irish for their

O'BR

- skill in, 86, 101, 103. The community of Nivelles, 86. The East regarded as the cradle of Celtic, 102. Skill of the Phœnicians in music, 102
- Musical instruments of the Irish, 101. Mr. O'Curry's list of ancient instruments, 102
- NAAS burnt by Rory Oge O'Mcree, 291
- Navan Fort, founded, 22
- Neagh, Lough, a Danish fleet in, 110
- Neimhidhians, their invasion of Ireland, 9. Defeated by the Fomorians, 9, 10
- Nenagh burned, 123
- Nennius, his account of the Irish Celts, 7
- Netterville, John, founds the convent of St. Mary Magdalene at Drogheda, 249
- Newtownbutler, defeat of the royalists at, 353
- Nial, king, slain, 32
- Nial of the Nine Hostages, king, 37. His wars against Albion and Gaul, 37
- Nial Caille defeats the Danes at Derry, 109
- Nial Frassagh, king, becomes a monk at Iona, 77
- Nial Glunduy, defeats the rebel sons of king Flann, 117. Drives the Danes before him, 117. Slain, 117
- Niall MacLochlann, heir of Ireland, killed, 142
- Nivelles, St. Gertrude's nunnery at, 86
- Norris, John, obtains a grant of land, 296
- Norwegians, their invasion of Ireland, 107-110. Defeated by the Danes, 111, 113
- Nuada, king, story of his silver hand, 11. Slain, 12
- O'BRIEN, Connor, king of Munster, opposes Turlough O'Connor's projects, 144. His death, 144, 145

O'BR

- O'Brien, Connor, defeats the Geraldines in Thomond, 205
 O'Brien, Dermood, lord of the Danes in Dublin, 142. His sons obtain Thomond, 143
 O'Brien, Donnell, prince of Thomond, rebels, 161. Assisted by Dermot, 161. Does homage to Henry II., 168. Defeats the English at Thurles, 175. His death, 187
 O'Brien, Donough, set up by De Clare, 210. But slain, 210
 O'Brien, Dr. Jerome, put to death, 324
 O'Brien, Murtough, becomes king of Munster, 145. His wars, 145. At Aengus Grove Synod, 147
 O'Brien, Roe, De Clare's treachery to, 210. His cruel death, 210
 O'Brien, Turlough, slain, 207
 O'Brien, Turlough, claims Thomond, but is defeated, 210. Supported by De Clare, 210
 O'Brollaghan, Donnell, his death, 194
 O'Carrol, Murrough, supports king Roderic against the Normans, 165
 O'Carrol, prince of Oriel, endows the abbey of Mellifont, 149. Makes a rich gift to the abbey, 150. Defeats De Courcy, 182. Blinded and hanged, 187
 O'Cavanaghs, the, in Leinster, 58
 O'Clery, Michael, account of, 339. His part in the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' 339
 O'Connor, Brian, invested with Connaught, 203. Driven out by Felim O'Connor, 203. Retaliates, 203
 O'Connor, Cahir Roe, executed, 271
 O'Connor, Calvagh, murdered, 217. His heroism, 217
 O'Connor, Calvagh, of Offaly, captures the earl of Kinsale, 233. His death, 235
 O'Connor, Con, son of Felim, 240
 O'Connor Faly, released but again imprisoned, 273
 O'Connor Faly, Calvagh, how treated by the earl of Shrewsbury, 238. His death, 240

O'DO

- O'Connor Faly, defeats and takes prisoner the earl of Desmond, 241
 O'Connor, Felim, proclaimed king of Connaught, 199. Taken prisoner, 199. Released, 199. Demolishes castles, 199. Flies to the north, 200, 203. Attempts to entrap him, 202. Drives out Brian, 203. His death, 206.
 O'Connor, Felim, king of Connaught, defeated by O'Melaghlin, 214. Joins Bruce, 221. His territory ravaged by Rory O'Connor, 222. Slain, 222
 O'Connor, Felim, his death, 240. His character, 240
 O'Connor, Finola, retires into Cill-Achaidh, 239
 O'Connor, Hugh, captured, 198. Seizes William de Marisco, 198. Obligated to renounce his allegiance, 193. Reinstated, 199. Killed, 199
 O'Connor, Hugh, son of Felim, succeeds, 206. His war with De Burgo, 207. Destroys Roscommon Castle, 209. His death, 209
 O'Connor, Margaret, notice of, 239. Her patronage of the literati, 239. Her two great entertainments, 239. Her death, 239
 O'Connor, Maurice, murdered, 217
 O'Connor, Murrough, rebels, 181. His eyes put out, 181. His death, 186
 O'Connor, Roderick, his castle of Tuam, 256
 O'Connor, Turlough, claims Connaught, 197. Inaugurated at Carnfree, 198
 O'Connor, Turlough, his immorality, 226. Deposed, 226
 O'Connors, their war in Connaught, 231. And in Kerry, 187
 O'Daly, Murray, the poet, story of, 194
 O'Dogherty, chief of Inishowen, his quarrel with Paulett, 307. Whom he kills, 307. Killed, 307
 O'Donnell, Con, treacherously seized by the earl of Essex, 288
 O'Donnell, Godfrey, his conflict

O'DO

- with Fitzgerald, 204. His death, 204
- O'Donnell, Hugh, lord of Tír-Connell, at Windsor, 261
- O'Donnell, Hugh Roe, refuses to admit an English sheriff into his territory, 297. Captured and sent to Dublin Castle, 297. Attempts to escape, 298. Escapes, 299. Gains in prestige, 300. Defeats Sir Conyers Clifford, 301. Hastens to join the Spaniards, 303. Defeated, 303. Goes to Spain, 303. Dies of grief, 304
- O'Donnell, More, lord of Tir-Connell, his death, 204
- O'Donnell, Rory, visits London, 306. Made earl of Tyrconnel, 306. His flight, 307
- O'Donnells, their war with the O'Neills, 264
- O'Driscoll, a chieftain, complaints against, 240
- O'Duffy, Catholicus, his death, 194
- Oengus, Dun, fortress of, 10
- Offaly, treachery of Peter Bermingham at, 217
- Offaly, family of, butchered, 292
- O'Flynn, Crunce, defeats De Courcy, 182. His death, 187
- Ogham Cruove, origin of the occult writing called, 16. The Ogham alphabet, 43
- O'Hagan, Raynal, lawgiver, killed, 141
- O'Higgin, Niall, rhymes Sir John Stanley to death, 234. His exploits, 234. Recalled, 234
- O'Flynn, the, of Meath, 58
- Oilioll marries the princess Meav, 24. Made king of Connaught, 25
- Oisill, Danish chieftain, his raids throughout Ireland, 112
- Oisin, poems attributed to him by Macpherson, 36
- O'Kelly, Teigue, his command at Clontarf, 132
- O'Kelly, Siccus, slain, 214
- Ollav, chief, killed, 142
- O'Loughlin, Connor, obtains rule in Ulster, 189
- O'Malley, Grace, Sir H. Sidney's account of her, 290

O'NE

- O'Melaghlin, Cormac, wrests Delvin from the English, 194
- O'Melaghlin, Carbry, defeats the English, 211, 214
- O'Melly, Con, bishop of Annaghdown, his death, 194
- O'Meyey, kills Hugh de Lacey, 185
- O'More, Rory Oge, his exploits, 291. His death, 291
- O'More, Rory, defeats the earl of Essex, 301
- O'Muldony drives De Courcy before him, 186
- O'Neill, Brian, his quarrel with Godfrey O'Donnell, 204. Beaten near the Swilly, 204. Becomes king of Ireland, 205. Killed near Downpatrick, 205
- O'Neill, Brian, rises against the earl of Essex, 288. Makes peace with him, 288. But is treacherously seized by the earl, and put to death, 288
- O'Neill, Donnell, king of Ulster, his letter to the pope, 219
- O'Neill, Hugh Boy, his death and character, 210
- O'Neil, Hugh Boy, takes the northern part of Dalriada, 58
- O'Neill, Hugh, his valour against De Courcy, 188. Deposed, but restored, 189. Pays homage to king John, 193. Joins De Lacy, 197
- O'Neill, Hugh, earl of Tyrone, notice of, 296, 297. Hangs Hugh of the Fetters, 298. Marries Miss Bagnall, 299. Plays fast and loose, 299. Gains in prestige, 300. His interview with the earl of Essex, 302. Lays the lands of the English waste, 302. Attempts made to assassinate him, 302. Captured and sent to London in chains, 302. Goes to Kinsale, 303. Defeated, 303. Returns to Ulster, 304. Submits to the queen, 304. And accepts an English earldom, 304. Visits London, 306. His flight, 307. His death at Rome, 307
- O'Neill, Owen, captured by lord Furnival, but ransomed, 236

O'NE

- O'Neill, Owen Roe, takes the command of the Catholic army, 315. Superseded by lord Castlehaven, 317
- O'Neill, Sir Phelim, heads an insurrection, 313. Resigns his command to Owen Roe O'Neill, 315
- O'Neill, Shane, his treatment of his father, 272. His attempts to recover his paternal dominions, 273. His resistance to English rule, 279. Cuts off a part of Sussex's army, 279. Plan for assassinating him, 280. His complaints to the viceroy, 281. Goes to England, 281. His appearance at court, 281. His treatment of his father-in-law and wife, 282. Murdered, 283
- O'Neill, Turlough, submits to Sir Henry Sidney, 285, 289
- O'Neills, the, desolate Ulster, 234, 235. Their war with the O'Donnells, 264
- O'Quirk, Rev. Thomas, chosen chaplain of the confederation of Kilkenney, 315
- O'Regan, prince of Idrone, defeated by Strongbow and killed, 166
- O'Reilly, Felim, taken treacherously by the earl of Shrewsbury, 239
- Ormond, origin of the name, 57
- Ormonde, plundered, 123
- Ormonde, Butler created earl of, 224. His death, 224
- Ormonde, James Butler, earl of, 224. Married to Eleanor, cousin of king Edward, 224. Petition of Parliament against him, 237. Summoned before the king, 238. Acquitted, 238. At war with Desmond, 241. Defeated by him at Pilltown, 241. Marches against the abettors of Warbeck's rebellion, 244. In England, 246
- Ormonde, earl of, his property attacked, but a compromise effected, 313
- Ormonde, marquis of, sent by Charles I. to treat with the Catholics, 316. Makes a compact with them, 317, 319. Garrisons Drogheda, which is put to the sword by Cromwell,

PAL

322. Goes to France, 323. Vote of Parliament to him, 333. His administration, 333. Removed for a time, 334
- Ormonde, duke of, his petition to Parliament, 345. Encourages the linen trade, 346. Sent to Ireland as lord lieutenant, 374
- Ormonde, earls of, their feuds with the Talbots, 237. And with the earls of Desmond, 283. Summoned to London, 283
- O'Rourke, Tiernan, lord of Breffny, dispossessed by MacMurrough, 145. Who carries away Tiernan's wife Dervorgil, 145. Supports king Roderic against the Normans, 165. Attacks Dublin, 167. His territory given to Hugh de Lacy, 170. Killed and beheaded, 174
- Orr, Mr., trial and execution of, 401
- Ospak, the Viking, refuses to fight against Brian Boru, 129
- Ossory, invaded by king Callaghan, 117. Ravaged by Brian Boru, 128. Taken by Dermot Mac-Murrough, 160
- O'Sullivan Beare, escapes to Dunboy castle, 304. Besieged by Carew, 304. Fall of the castle, 304
- O'Toole, St. Laurence, becomes archbishop of Dublin, 150. Notice of him, 150. Makes terms with the besiegers, 163. Endeavours to rally the national army against the Normans, 165
- O'Toole, Murtough, killed, 145
- O'Tooles, the Leinster chieftains, 58
- Oviedo, father Mathew de, promotes an expedition from Spain to Ireland, 293
- P**ADRAIG, Inis, synod of, convoked, 149
- Pale, the, despoiled by O'Connor, 234. Origin of the word, 245. Opposition of the English lords of the Pale to the English government, 290. Alarm of the Pale at

PAL

- the exploits of Rory Oge O'Moore, 291.
- Palladius, mission of, to Ireland, 53. Churches erected by him, 54
- Parliament at Kilkenny, 217, 229. At Drogheda, 245. Of 1498, 247. Parliaments, Irish, regulations respecting, 254. Of 1560, 274. Of 1569, 285. Of Sir A. Chichester, 309. Of lord Wentworth, 311. Of 1550, 343. Of 1561, 333. Of 1692, 370. Agitation for reform of, 393. Last night of the Irish Parliament, 418
- Partholan, his traditionary invasion of Ireland, 5. Date of his arrival, 6
- Patrick, St., his missionary labours, 60. His birthplace and early life, 60. His parentage, 61. Goes into Gaul, 61. Visits Lerins and Rome, 62. Under the direction of St. Germanus of Auxerre, 62. Consecrated bishop, 63. Lands in Ireland, 63. Preaches at Taillten, 65. Destroys the national idol, Ceann Cruach, 66. Traverses Connaught, and converts thousands, 67. Goes into Ulster, 67. And into Leinster, 67. His mission into Munster, 68. Foundation of the see of Armagh, 69. Writes his 'Confession,' and dies, 69. His canons, 88, 89
- Paulett, Sir George, insults O'Dogherty, 307. Killed, 307
- Peep o' Day Boys, the, 387
- Pelham, Sir William, made lord-deputy, 294. His cruelties, 294
- Pembroke, Richard de Clare, earl of, charged with treason and escapes to Ireland, 200. Leagues with the Welsh princes, and expels the foreigners, 200. His death, 201
- Pembridge, Sir Richard, refuses the office of viceroy, 230. His punishment, 230
- Pembroke, Walter de Clare, earl of, 201. His death, 202
- Pembroke, William Marshall, earl of, married to the daughter of the earl of Clare, 179
- Pentarchy, Irish, account of the, 56-59

POE

- Perrot, Sir John, lord-deputy, his treatment of the Catholics, 277. Appointed president of Munster, 282. Devotes himself to the destruction of the Geraldines, 286. Under-deputy in 1584, 296. And lord-president in 1588, 297. Retires, 297. His character, 297. Proposes to convert St. Patrick's cathedral into an university, 340
- Petty, Sir William, his account of Ireland, 349
- Philip of Worcester appointed viceroy of Ireland, 183. His disputes with William Braose, 190
- Phenicians, ancient dwelling-place of the, 7. Origin of their name, 7. Herodotus' account of them, 8. Solinus' account, 8. Their colonisation of Spain, 8. Their skill in music, 102
- Physicians, ladies acting as, in ancient times, 15
- Picts, the, 19. Found Poitiers, 19. Go to Britain and Ireland, 19. Join the Milesians in defeating the Britons, 19. Settle in North Britain, 19
- Piers, Sir William, procures the murder of Shane O'Neill, 283
- Pillar-stones of the pagan Irish, 46
- Pilltown, battle of, 241
- Piranzabuloe, church of, in Cornwall, 79
- Pirates, Scotch, in Dublin and Drogheda, 234
- Plague, traditionary ravages of the, 6. Of 543, 71. Of 656, 75. Of 1096, 140. The Black Death of 1348, 227. Of 1447, 238. Of 1575, 289
- Plait the Dane, his combat with Domhnall, 132
- Plunket, Nicholas, chosen speaker of the confederation of Kilkenny, 315
- Plunkett, Dr., archbishop of Armagh, his trial, 334, 335. And execution, 335
- Plunketts, the, settle in Ireland, 57
- Poer, Roger le, territory of Waterford granted to, 182
- Poer Sir Eustace hanged, 227

POI

- Poictiers, foundation of the city of, 19
 Popes, their claim to exercise temporal power, 170. Cases in which they made use of this power, 170
 Post-office, the first, in Ireland, 346.
 Postal arrangements between the two countries, 346
 Potatoe, cultivation of the, general in Ireland, 377
 Poyning, Sir Edward, sent to Ireland, 244. Enactment of his law, 245
 Prendergast, Maurice de, joins the Anglo-Norman invasion, 159
 Preston, colonel, joins the Catholic army, 314, 315
 Priests hunted down, 330

Q

QUERNS of the pagan Irish, 47

- RAGUALL, son of king Amlaif, killed, 122
 Raleigh, Sir W., obtains grants of land, 296
 Rathfarnham, battle of, 117
 Rathugh, meeting of ecclesiastics at, 113
 Raymond le Gros, his conduct in Dublin, 163. Obtains chief command, 175. Plunders Offaly and Munster, 175. Retires into Wales, 175. Returns and marries Strongbow's daughter, 175. Punishes Donnell O'Brien, 176
 Reachrainn burned by the Danes, 107
 Rebellion of 1798, 402
 Redmond, John, executed, 407
 Reformation, failure of the attempt to introduce it into Ireland, 266
 Reginald's Tower, in Waterford, 152
 Regulus, the recreant Irish chieftain, tries to induce Agricola to invade his country, 28, 29. Tacitus' account of this, 29
 Religion of the Pagan Irish, 38.
 State of religion in the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, 338

ROS

- Religious works of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, 89
 Reuta, the, a district of Dalariada, 59
 Revenue, Irish, in 1783, 391
 Riada Carbry, leads an Irish colony into Scotland, 70
 Richard I. becomes king of England, 186. Appoints prince John lord of Ireland, 186
 Richard II. succeeds to the throne, 231. Confers the sovereignty of Ireland on the earl of Oxford, 231. Sends Sir John Sydney to Ireland, 231. Visits Ireland, 231, 233. Marches against Art MacMurrough, 233
 Rightboys, the, 387
 Rinuccini, John Baptist, sent as papal nuncio to Ireland, 318. His report to the Holy See, 318. Returns to Italy, 321
 Roads, five great, made, 32, 33
 Roche family, misfortunes of the, 331 *note*
 Roche, Gerald, slain by MacCarthy, 205
 Roche, Sir Boyle, his message to the delegates, 393
 Rodanus, St., of Lothra, curses Tara, 71
 Roden, lord, puts down the insurgents, 403, 404
 Roderick O'Connor, king of Connaught, expelled from his throne, 139. His singular death, 139
 Roderic O'Connor, king of Ireland, 145. His recreant conduct at the Norman invasion, 160, 161. Raises an army, 163. Retires to Meath, and puts royal hostages to death, 164. Commands the national forces to expel the Normans, 165. At the battle of Thurles, 175. Advances towards Dublin, but disbands, 176. Sends ambassadors to Henry II., 176
 Rory O'Connor, his death, 143
 Rorye, Firbolg ruler of Ulster, 11
 Roscommon, raid of the Danes in, 108. Castle of, destroyed, 209. Monastery of, founded, 206
 Rosen, De, sent by James II. to assist Hamilton, 352

ROS

Ross, new fortifications of, 206
 Rossa, king of Leinster, 24
 Round Towers, doubts as to their use and period, 96. The tower of Tomgrany built, 125
 Rowan, Mr., prosecuted, 397
 Rumrann, the poet, his trick, 77

SAINTS of the fifth and sixth centuries, 73. Their eminence in religion and scholastic discipline, 87. Their shrines desecrated by the Danes, 112

Samford, Jean de, administers the affairs of government, 214

Samhthann, St., predicts the fate of Aedh, son of Comgal, 76

Sanctuary, decree of a synod of Dublin as to right of, 181

San José, colonel Sebastian, commands an expedition from Spain, 293

Sarsfield, general, commands at Sligo, 353. Retires to Athlone, 353. At the Boyne, 356. Helps to defend Limerick, 360. Created earl of Lucan, 361. At the battle of Aughrim, 364. Recommends the surrender of Limerick, 365

Saull, origin of the name, 63

Savage, Sir Rowland, his estates given to Sir Thomas Smith, 286

Schomberg, general, arrives in Ireland, 353. His army, 353. Takes Belfast and Carrickfergus, 353. Killed at the Boyne, 358

Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, 17. Her grave in Kerry, 17

Scotland, a colony of Irish settle in, 70. Quarrels between them and the Picts, 70. Foundation of the kingdom of, by an Irish colony, 70

'Scotorum Chronicum,' 5

Scots, the Irish called, 7 *note*. Origin of the name, 17

Scroope, Sir Stephen, appointed deputy, 234. Defeats Macmurrough, 234

Seangann, Fírbolg ruler of North Munster, 11

Secundinus, St., nephew of St. Pa-

SKE

trick, presides over the northern churches, 67

Sedulius, St., the younger, bishop of Oreto, 87

'Senchus Mór,' the great law book, 5. Names of the compilers, 55, 92. Account of it, 91-93

Seschnan, his hospitality to St. Patrick, 64. Who baptizes him and his family, 64

Settlement, Bill of, opposed by the Irish Catholics, 333

Shales, the army contractor, charges against him, 354

Sheares, the, betrayed by Armstrong, 403

Sheehy, father, execution of, 385

Showers, miraculous, 76-78

Shrewsbury, Sir John Talbot, earl of, becomes lord-deputy, 238. His treatment of the native princes, 238. His Parliament at Trim, 238. Takes Felim O'Reilly, 239

Sidney, Sir Henry, appointed viceroy, 283. His visitation of Munster and Connaught, 283. Returns to England, 285. Resumes his government of Ireland, 285. His plan of local government, 286. A third time viceroy, 289. Attacks Sorley Boy at Carrickfergus, 289. Visits Thomond, 289. Retires from office, 292

Sidney, Sir P., his efforts to abolish coigne and livery, 343

Siguard, earl of the Orkneys, joins the Danes against Brian Boru, 129

Simnel, Lambert, his plot, 243

Simons, Rabbi, on the migration of the Phœnicians, 7

Sinnott, colonel, besieged in Wexford, 322. Yields to Cromwell, 322

Sitric, the Dane, marries the daughter of Brian Boru, 124. Raises forces against Brian, 128, 129. Commands the left wing at Clontarf, 131. Watches the battle from Dublin, 134

Skeen, defeat of the Danes at, 110

Skeffington, Sir William, appointed to watch the earl of Kildare, 262.

SLA

Takes lord Thomas Fitzgerald at Maynooth, 265
 Slaingé, son of king Partholan, 6
 His cairn on Slieve Drewe, 6
 Slane, Firbolg ruler of Leinster, 11
 Slaves, English, trade in, in the Norman period, 257. The Irish sent as slaves to the West Indies, 329
 Smerwick harbour, landing of a Spanish expedition in, 293.
 Slaughter of the garrison, 294
 Smith, Sir Thomas, lands in Ulster granted to, 286. His son killed, 287
 'Snechta, Kin Droma,' also called the 'Book of the Invasions of Erin,' 5
 Societies, formation of secret, 386
 Solinus, his account of the voyages of the Phœnicians, 8
 Solivagus, bishop of Saltzburg, 86
 Sorley Boy besieges Carrickfergus, 289
 Spain, Phœnician colonisation of, 8
 Spenser, William, his lands taken from him, 328
 Sreng, the Firbolg chief, his interview with the Tuatha Dé Danann chief Breas, 12
 Stanley, Sir John, appointed lord-deputy of Ireland, 234. 'Rhymed to death,' 234
 Statuary, Irish, 152
 Stephen Longespé, viceroy of Ireland, defeats the Irish near Downpatrick, 205. Murdered, 205
 St. Leger, Sir Anthony, lord-deputy, 270, 271. Obtains a grant of land, 296
 Stone, George, made archbishop of Armagh, 378
 Storms, fearful, 78
 Stowe missal, the, 89. The works in the Stowe collection, 90
 Strongbow (Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke) goes with Dermot MacMurrough to Ireland, 159. His arrival, 160, 162. Account of his family, 161. Besieges Waterford, 162. Marries Eva MacMurrough, 163. Proclaims

TAL

himself king of Leinster, 164.
 Summoned by Henry II. to return to England, 164. Remains, 165. Shuts himself up in Dublin, 165. Besieged there, 165. The siege raised, 166. Sets out for Wexford, 166. Defeats O'Regan on the way, 166. Returns to England, 167. His interview with Henry II., 167. Appointed by Henry II. earl marshal of Ireland, 172. Depredates his territories, 174. Joins Henry II. in Normandy, 175. Returns, 175. Refuses Raymond le Gros's demands, but subsequently grants them, 175. His death, 177. His character, 178. His religious foundations, 178. Extinction of his family, 202
 St. Ruth commands the Royalist army, 361. Endeavours to relieve Athlone, 362. Removes to Aughrim, 363. Killed there, 364
 Stukeley appointed admiral of an expedition to assist the Irish Catholics, 293. Notice of him, 293. Deserts, 293
 Sulcoit, battle of, 121
 Sun worship in Ireland, 38
 Surrey, earl of, sent to Ireland as deputy, 263. His policy, 263. Returns to England, 264
 Sussex, earl of, viceroy of Ireland, 274. His dishonest course, 275. His persecution of the Catholics, 276. Marches with an army to Armagh, 279. His letter to the queen respecting the proposed assassination of O'Neill, 280. Recalled, 283
 Sweeney Men, king, assassinated, 75.
 Slain at Moira, 75
 Swift, dean, effect of his 'Drapier's Letters,' 376
 Switzerland visited by St. Columbanus, 84, 85
TAILLTEAN, fair of, established, 15. Battle of, 17, 18
 Talbot, colonel, created earl, and afterwards duke, of Tyrconnel, 335

TAL

- Talbot, Sir John, appointed lord-deputy, 234
- Talbot, Sir John. *See* Shrewsbury
- Talbot, Richard, archbishop of Dublin, his requests laid before Henry VI., 237
- Talbots, the, settle in Leinster, 58. Their feuds with the earls of Ormonde, 237
- Tallage, or tax, levied by Henry III. in Ireland, 195
- Tallaght, near Dublin, traditionary burial-place at, 6. Name of, 6. Tumuli at, 6
- Tandy, Napper, joins the United Irishmen, 396
- Tanistry, or tanaisteacht, law of, 95
- 'Tara, Saltair of,' lost work of, 5. Attributed to king Cormac Mac Airt, 34
- Tara, history of the hill of, 21. The royal state at, 37. Visit of St. Patrick to, 65. Complete desolation of, 71. Defeat of the Danes near, 122
- Teigue, son of Brian Boru, at the battle of Clontarf, 131. Murdered, 139
- Teigue, MacCarthy, king of Desmond, his death, 143
- Teltown, fair of, established by the Tuatha Dé Dananns, 15
- Test Act passed, 375
- Theodoric, or Thierry, king of the Franks, expels St. Columbanus, 84
- Thomond, origin of the name, 57. Invaded by the Danes, 120. Plundered, 143. Given to the O'Brians, 143. Granted to Philip de Bresosa, 182. Defeat of the Geraldines in, 205. Civil war in, 219. Subdued by Sir H. Sidney, 289
- Thornton, Sir Giles, his report to Henry VI. on the state of Ireland, 237
- 'Three Chapters,' controversy of the, 84
- Thurles, battle of, 175
- 'Tighernach, Annals of,' 4
- Tighernach, king of South Munster, 24

TUR

- Tintern abbey founded, 249
- Tir-Eogain, ancient kingdom of, 58
- Tir-Conainn, or Conang's Tower, 10
- Tir-Connell, the Adullam of the time, 203
- Tithes introduced, 150
- Tolebourne, de, justiciary of Ireland, his death, 214
- Tomgrany, round tower of, built, 125
- Tone, Theobald Wolf, forms the first club of United Irishmen, 395. His pamphlets, 396
- Tories, the, hunted down, 330, 331
- Trade of Ireland in the sixteenth century, 344
- Trim, the Normans driven from the castle of, 275
- Trimblestown, barons of, settle in Ireland, 57
- Trinity College, Dublin, founded, 340
- Tuatha Dé Dananns, the, 10, 11. Their invasion of Ireland, and defeat of the Firbolgs, 11, 13-15. Living in Ireland in the time of St. Patrick, 15. Their expertness in naval affairs, 81
- Tuathal Teachtmair, king, reign of, 30. Story of his two daughters, 30, 31. Imposes the Boromean tribute upon Leinster, 31. Slain, 32
- Tuireadh, Magh, battle of, 11, 13
- Tuite, Richard, the great baron, defeated and slain by O'Melaghlin, 214
- Tullaghogue, hill fort of, 152
- Turgesius, the Norwegian pirate, occupies Armagh, 108. His treatment of ecclesiastical offices, 109. Drowned, 110. His name, 110
- Turlough defeats his uncle, king Donough, 139
- Turlough, grandson of Brian Boru, at the battle of Clontarf, 131. Killed there, 134
- Turlough O'Brien becomes king of Ireland, 139. Takes hostages, 139. Invades Connaught, 139. Leads an army to Dublin, 139. His son made lord of the Danes of Dublin, 139. His death, 140
- Turlough O'Connor, son of blind

TYR

- Rory, 143. His exploits, 143. Opposed in his projects by Connor O'Brien, 144. His Spartan severity, 144
- Tyrconnel, earldom of, given to colonel Talbot, 335. Made a duke by James II., 351. Left by the king in charge of the royalists in Ireland, 359. Marches to Limerick, 359. His death, 365
- Tyrone, origin of the name of, 58
- Tyrrell, Hugh, taken prisoner, 222

U AIREIRGHE, his death, 194

- Ufford, Sir Ralph, appointed justiciary of Ireland, 227. His harsh measures, 227. His death, 227
- Ufford, Sir Robert, made justiciary of Ireland, 209. Desired to assemble a Parliament, 210
- Ugainé Môr, king, reign of, 23
- Ulidia, hostages taken of, by Murrough, 141
- Ulidians, their war with the Cinel-Eoghain, 142
- 'Ulster, Annals of,' 5
- Ulster, rule of the Firbolgs in, 11. Ancient kingdom of, 58. Desolated by civil war, 189. Anglo-Norman policy in, 203. Desolated by the O'Neills, 234, 235. Plantation of, 286. Injustice of the plantations, 287
- Ulster, Richard Burke, earl of, attends a Parliament at Kilkenny, 217. Goes to Connaught, 221. Starves Walter de Burgo to death, 225
- Ultan, St., his charity to orphans, 75
- Union, opposition to, 380. History of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, 409
- United Irishmen, origin of the, 395. Proceedings of the, 397. Military organisation of the, 399
- Usher, archbishop, his sermon before lord Falkland, 310. Account of him, 341
- Usher's Island, school of philosophy and divinity on, 249

WAT

- Usson, M. d', governor of Limerick, 362. Takes command of the defenders, 365

V ALOIS, Hamon de, his robbery of church property, 187

- Verdun, John de, joins an expedition into Connaught, 205
- Verdun, Theobald, defeated, 211. Besieged by De Burgo, 214
- Vernon, Sir Bartholomew, murders Dowdall, 234
- Vesci, Sir William de, appointed justiciary of Ireland, 214. His quarrel with FitzGerald, 214
- Viceroy in the reign of Henry III. See Justiciary. Salary of in the thirteenth century, 209. And at the end of the fourteenth, 230
- Villiers, Mrs., estates in Ireland given to, 374
- Vinegar Hill, encampment of insurgents on, 405. Battle of, 406
- Virgilius, St., or 'Ferghil the Geometer,' 86
- Vivian, cardinal, papal legate, in Ireland, 180. Holds a synod in Dublin, 181
- Volunteers, the, of the coast, 389. Resolutions of the, 389. Their agitations, 393. Deserted by their leaders, 394
- W ADDING, father Luke, his energy in the Catholic cause, 316
- Wake, the Irish, 46
- Walker, Rev. George, defends Derry, 351. Killed at the Boyne, 358
- Wallope, Sir Henry, lord-deputy, 296. His cruelty, 300
- Warbeck, Perkin, his plot, 243, 244
- War-cries, Irish, forbidden to the English lords, 246
- Wards, court of, established, 313
- Waterford, a Danish town, 136. Besieged by Herve de Montemarrisco, 162. His cruelties, 162. Taken by Strongbow, and the people massacred, 163. Synod of, 176. The pope's bull read at

WEA

176. The territory of, granted to Roger le Poer, 182. Deprived of its charter, 310
- Weapons of the pagan Irish, 46.
Flint and metal implements, 47.
Of copper and bronze, 97
- Wentworth, earl of, lord-deputy, 311. His Parliament, 311. His treatment of the members, 311. Executed, 313
- Westmoreland, earl of, his lord-lieutenancy, 395
- Wexford, besieged by Dermot MacMurrough, 159. Ravaged by MacMurrough, 234. The English defeated by him at, 235. Besieged by Cromwell, 322. Massacre of the garrison, 323
- Whiteboys, or Levellers, commencement of the, 381
- Wicklow devastated by Brian Boru, 128
- William of Orange, arrives in England, 336. His struggle with James II. in Ireland, 350 *et seq.* Lands at Carrickfergus, 355. Reviews his army, 356. Meets king James's army on the banks of the Boyne, 356. Gains the day, 359. Capitulation of various garrisons, 359. Besieges Limerick, 359. But raises the siege, 361. Leaves the command to De Solmes, 361. Estates in Ireland given by him to Mrs. Villiers, 374
- Wills, the earliest known in Ireland, 343

YOU

- Windsor, conference, and treaty of, 176. Violations of the treaty, 181
- Winter, admiral, at Smerwick harbour, 294
- Wogan, Sir John, becomes viceroy of Ireland, 215, 218. Endeavours to pacify the Geraldines and Burkes, 217
- Wolves, increase of in the seventeenth century, 330
- Woollen manufactures of the Norman period, 257. The woollen trade of Ireland suppressed, 373
- Worcester, Tytoft, earl of, viceroy of Ireland, 342. Beheads the earl of Desmond, 242
- Wynn, Sir Watkin, his cruelties, 403

- YEAR, four quarters of the, of the pagan Irish, 45
- Yellow Ford, near Armagh, engagement at the, 300
- York, house of, its wars with the Lancastrians, 236, 240
- York, duke of, becomes viceroy of Ireland, 240. His conciliatory policy, 240. Returns to England, 241. Slain at Wakefield, 241
- Youghal, the earl of Desmond's college at, 242. FitzGerald's Franciscan monastery at, 249, 250. The town burned to the ground, 294

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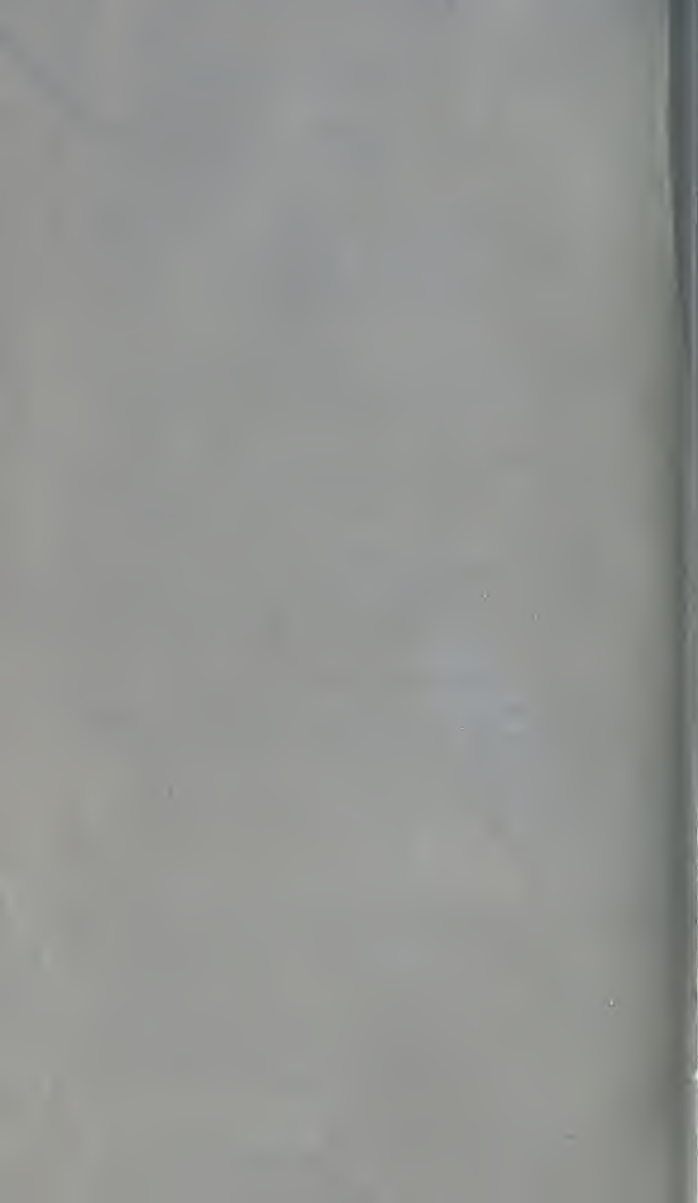
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